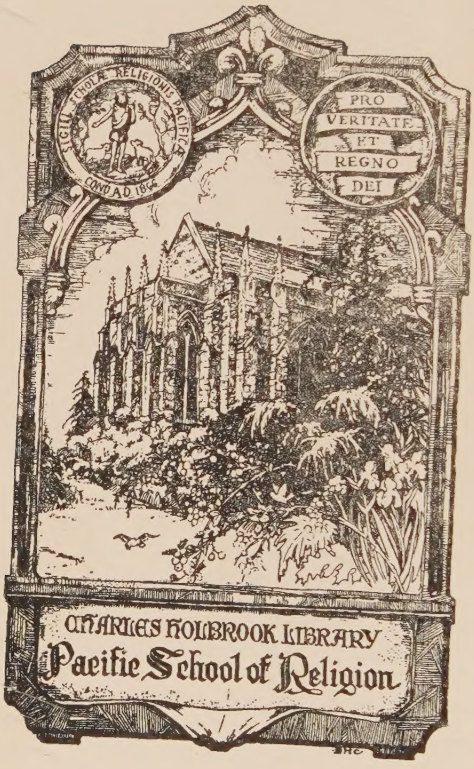
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JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

I.—THE RELIGIOUS VALUE OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.* By F. Bonifas.

There is a school, in the midst of Protestantism, which proposes to substitute a simplified Christianity, without miracles and without mysteries, for the Christianity of the Bible. It announces this simplification as progress, plumes itself on having begun and accomplished it, and even claims that it has greatly served thereby the cause of religion.

Notice with what enthusiasm these modern apostles of a renewed Christianity express themselves. Notice, too, the tone of superiority and of censure with which they accuse us of not comprehending the necessities of the times, and of compromising the very interests we wish to defend, by our ill-timed obstinacy. "Do you not see," they say, "that the age is deserting you? And it is your own fault, for you speak a language which it does not understand. The men of our times," they continue, "are drawn towards the gospel. A sure instinct tells them, that there alone can they find a response to the aspirations which torment them. But they are stopped at the threshold of your temples by those strange dogmas which contradict both conscience and reason, and which offend the enlightened and sensitive spirit. Lay aside these clumsy impediments which so embarrass you, and you will soon conquer the world."

* Translated and condensed from the *Revue Chrétienne*, July, 1869, by Elijah Janes, B.A., Oakland, Cal.

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To this advice they add the most specious arguments. "These superannuated dogmas, which are contrary to reason and an obstacle to the success of the gospel, do not belong," they tell us, "to the substance of Christianity. The religion of Jesus Christ is not a collection of dogmas or miraculous events; it is a new spirit, a new life, a fruitful principle thrown into the world as a power of progress, to transform and sanctify it. There is one God, the Father of all men, and one humanity, forming a vast family of brothers; this is the whole of Christianity. As for these doctrines of the fall, the incarnation, and expiation by the cross, they are but excrescences; they are a useless profusion of metaphysics and miracles which disfigure and compromise the gospel, the unhappy inventions of theology or superstition. They have no influence upon souls, they have no value from a religious point of view."

They also enforce their advice by example. They separate all its dogmas and all its mysteries from the gospel, and preach, under the name of "modern Christianity," a religion which is, indeed, very lofty and generous, but which resembles true Christianity in nothing but the name, and might easily be mistaken for what is commonly called "natural religion."

But let us go back to first principles, and, putting the question in the same terms with our adversaries, inquire whether it is true, that the doctrines of orthodoxy are foreign to true Christianity, and that they hinder piety instead of advancing it.

And let us here recognize the fact that the statements of our adversaries contain some truth. For we affirm as loudly as any one, that Christianity is a spirit and a life, a vivifying principle, a power of moral transformation and progress. But it is all this only because it is something divine, an intervention of God in history for the elevation of fallen humanity, a supernatural act of deliverance and restoration. It is at once miracle and doctrine, each implying and supporting the other.

Let us also admit that a distinction must be made between theology and religion; between systems laboriously constructed by human science, and the facts or truths which are the contents of revelation and the ground of salvation. But we are not defending theological formulas, but rather revealed facts and truths; not that scientific exposition of Christian truth which

is the product of human reflection and speculation upon the contents of faith, but rather the facts of Christianity, in their primitive simplicity; or, if you please, the doctrines of the Christian Church considered as the simple affirmation of these facts.

Let us also acknowledge, that outside of the Christian Church there can be, and is in fact, what may be called religious life. Still we claim that the only religious life worthy of the name, is that which is produced by Christian faith, that is to say, by contact with the facts of Christianity, or rather with the person of Jesus Christ, in whom these facts are embodied.

We claim that the facts of Christianity, taken just as Christian revelation gives them to us, and before they have been translated into scientific formulas by theology, have in themselves a sanctifying power and religious influence which nothing else in the world can ever equal.

But it is not in the interest of a school or party that we hold fast to the doctrines of orthodoxy; it is in the interest of religion. If it could be proved to us that the doctrines which we profess, in common with the Christian Church of all ages, have no religious value and, hence, instead of favoring piety, check its true development, our decision would be quickly made. However venerable the tradition which has preserved them to us, whatever value our fathers may have placed upon them, we would abandon them at once. We have too much at heart the interests of religion, we love our age and the Church too much, we are too jealous for the salvation of souls, to refuse any sacrifice which would render certain the triumph of the gospel.

I.

The question of the religious value of the doctrines of Christianity is involved in a more general question,—that of the connection of religious experience with beliefs in general. It is claimed that religion is absolutely independent of the convictions of the intellect; that religious men may be found among the partizans of the most contrary systems; that men may profess either theism or pantheism, spiritualism or materialism, without any corresponding change in their religious life.

"Religion," they tell us, "is not knowledge but feeling. It is the feeling of the divine. And the divine is everything good, true and beautiful, the perfect, the ideal, the infinite. And this feeling is completely independent of every opinion in regard to God, his nature and attributes. Deists and pantheists meet here upon the same platform. Whether God be personal or impersonal, the religious sentiment is equally satisfied; it remains the same in its nature and object."

It is evident that those who reason thus are mistaken as to the nature of religion. If religion is nothing but a vague sentiment of the infinite, it will be confounded by turns with art, philosophy and science. The artist, the philosopher and the *savant* equally aspire towards the infinite and the divine, each in his own way. But poetry, philosophy and science are not, therefore, religion. The religious feeling is not the sentiment of the beautiful, nor the philosophical spirit, nor the scientific spirit. It has a precise and distinct object, and that object is, not "the divine," but God; not an abstract idea, but a living person; a God who sees and hears, who loves and wishes to be loved, who answers those who call upon him, and is found by those who seek him. Religion is the union of man with the living God. It is man rising toward God and entering into relation with him through prayer, obedience and love. It is God coming near to man and pervading his life, dwelling in his heart and leading him by the hand. It is a free and intimate communion of will and heart between God and man.

If this is religion, it follows that the only doctrines of philosophy which are also doctrines of religion are those relating to the personality of God. Every philosophy which does away with the personality of God thereby makes religion impossible. And the same may be said of every denial of the personality or freedom of man. Religion is a relation which supposes two terms, the human person and the divine person. Let either be taken away and the relation ceases to exist. This relation can only be realized by love, and love pre-supposes liberty. A fatalistic system, which makes necessity the universal law, is, for that very reason, an irreligious one.

We say then to those who assert that the doctrines of Christianity are useless in respect to practical religion: If you really

believe that all doctrines are indifferent in a religious point of view, say so openly! Do not countenance a mistake and expose yourselves to the reproach of inconsistency. For while you claim that religion is a matter of feeling and not of belief, you act as if certain doctrines, that of the personality of God, for instance, were essential to religion, and you exclude those who do not believe it! You establish a connection between certain philosophical statements and religion, and you fix upon certain limits outside of which you say religion is not possible. What right have you, then, to reproach us? We ourselves do no more. Keep to yourselves those charges of narrowness and exclusiveness of which you are so prodigal! You yourselves are exclusive and narrow and flagrantly inconsistent. For you clamorously call upon us to disembarrass Christianity of these unlucky dogmas which stop so many well-disposed minds at the threshold of the Church. Begin, then, by disembarrassing your own religion of that dogma of the personality of God, which offers no less difficulties than ours, and which seems inadmissible and contradictory to so many minds! Erase also those dogmas of the immortality of the soul and free-will, which encounter so many adversaries. You shout to us: "take away the barriers, enlarge the door of your temple!" Do the same thing then yourselves, and do it not by halves.

But even should you do this, do not suppose there will be many worshippers in your temple. For conscience clearly tells all men, that without faith in a personal God, who answers prayer and is willing to have communion with us, there can be no true religion. But you will not follow our advice! You will not dare to wound so deeply all religious consciousness. You know that you would be left alone in a deserted temple. To escape the reproach of inconsistency you will make us a concession, will grant that religion cannot dispense with dogmatic statements, one of which is the personality of God.

If our adversaries grant us this point, our cause is won. For as we have proved the necessity to religion of a belief in the personality of God, which necessity our adversaries themselves admit, so we hope to prove that there is no religious life worthy of the name, except that which is founded on the grand doctrines of Christianity.

II.

Let us ask of consciousness and history what aspirations of the human soul religion ought to satisfy. And first let us collect the testimony of conscience, of the human heart.

Every man who reflects finds in his heart and in his life a void which nothing can fill. The good which the world offers does not satisfy him. Neither the pleasures of sense nor the nobler enjoyments of intellect, nor the sacred joys of affection, nor even the austere satisfaction of duty performed, can quench the thirst of his soul. Sprung from God and formed in his image, he can live only in God. He reaches after Him with all the faculties of his being. His intellect seeks Him as the light without which all is darkness, his heart as the supreme object of its affections, his conscience as the end and sanction which it requires. Man cannot taste true happiness till he has found God.

But let us descend more into particulars. Man needs to know God. It is not enough to know *that* he is; he must know *what* he is. "Foolish presumption," some will exclaim. "The eternal and infinite being must always be inaccessible to beings so feeble and limited as we." This is true, and man knows it well. He has never sought to have an absolute knowledge of God, adequate to its object, like that which God can himself have. In certain respects God is still inaccessible to us, and we willingly submit.

But if in certain parts of his nature God is far above our knowledge, in others he can be known by us. I refer to his moral attributes, whose reflection we have within us, and by virtue of which we are, as the Apostle says, "His children." It is here that God is accessible to us, and it is here that we have communion with him. I must know that God is good, that he is just, that he is holy. I must know what his will is with regard to me. Does He care for me? Does He love me? Will He answer my prayers? Is He my judge as well as my Father? Conscience answers, "Yes," and many other voices seem to confirm its testimony. Nature and history reveal a God full of wisdom and love, who cares for the least of his creatures, who rewards each one according to his works and

will by no means clear the guilty. On the other hand, how many things in the world seem to accuse the justice of God and deny his love! What disorders in nature and scandals in history. What unmerited suffering and unpunished crime. What heart-rending spectacles, almost enough to bring to the lips those blasphemous words, "there is no God!" Who shall reconcile these contradictory testimonies? Who shall remove the objections raised by the existence of evil in the world and in man?

Let God himself speak. Let Him tell us his will concerning us. Let Him instruct us and reassure us. Let Him give proofs of his justice and love sufficiently glorious to refute all objections and dissipate all doubts. To know God, to know him just and good, to see and hear him more distinctly than He is seen or heard in nature or history is the chief want of our souls, is the very essence of religion.

How shall this communion be realized? Conscience answers, by obedience and love. To obey the law which God himself has graven on our hearts, to love what God loves and will what he wills, to unite ourselves to him by conformity of feeling and will, these are the essential conditions of true religion. It is not enough for the pious man to fulfill an abstract law like that of duty; he must obey some *person*. In doing good he must feel himself in communion with Him who is The Good. Besides the testimony of conscience he needs the approbation of God. To do the will of God and feel that He approves us, to love Him and be loved by Him, to speak to Him and hear Him speak to us, this is the ideal of the religious soul, this is true religion.

But scarcely have we caught sight of this ideal when we know that we cannot attain to it. Conscience gives an accusing testimony against us. We have a thousand times violated that law which is written on our hearts and which is the expression of the will of God. And we find within us a fatal disposition to do evil rather than good, a selfish and vicious nature, whose yoke we submit to and cannot break; not only faults, but corruption, not only sins, but Sin, a deep organic disease attached to our very moral being. We are, then, separated from God by a great gulf; for what communion can there be between

holiness and defilement? And though we are unable to cross the abyss, we feel that our highest duty and our highest happiness is to unite ourselves to God. Such is the melancholy contradiction which every man has within him. He seeks God, yet fears Him, calls after Him, yet shuns Him, wishes to be united to Him, yet sin comes between, like an insurmountable barrier. Man aspires to know God, and because his real knowledge of Him is so defective, God must reveal himself more directly. Man aspires to be united with God, and because sin has rendered that union impossible there must be an expiation and a deliverance. Such is the testimony of conscience.

The testimony of history, in which the consciousness of the race is expressed, is the same. History proves the universality of religion and thus testifies to the feeling of the need of God as one of the distinctive characteristics of human nature. Everywhere, in one form or another, there is a revelation from on high, teaching men what they need to know in order to fulfill their destiny as men. And as there is no religion without supernatural revelations of the divinity, so there is none without priests and sacrifices. And what are priests but mediators between heaven and earth? And does not this priestly mediation imply an abyss which separates sinful humanity from the mysterious and awful power on which it is dependant, and that this gulf must be crossed before man can unite himself to God? Men have always felt that they were unworthy to come into the presence of divinity, and that the incense offered by their polluted hands could not be agreable to Him whom they wish to adore. Therefore they have chosen certain ones, whom they have kept apart, secluded from the contagion of corruption, and charged them with representing them before the deity, and offering for them the worship they dared not offer themselves.

The distinctive function of the priest is to offer sacrifice. There is a voice of conscience in the blood that sprinkles every altar. In that voice man acknowledges himself guilty and worthy of the anger of God, and declares that it is not by his tears of repentance alone that he hopes to appease the divine wrath, but by a bloody expiation. The priest, the sacrifice, the sanctuary, are all institutions inspired by the same feeling and

having the same religious meaning. They testify to man's pollution and at the same time to his hope that the pollution may be purged away, and that he may find again the God whom he has lost.

Thus the religious institutions of every nation, equally with the conscience of every individual, reveal deep in the human soul a need of a positive revelation of God and of a revelation which will reëstablish those relations between heaven and earth which sin has destroyed. Christianity responds to this double need of revelation and expiation.

For Jesus Christ was both the great Revealer and the Revelation itself. He has revealed what neither nature nor history nor conscience itself could have taught us concerning God and our eternal destiny. In him the invisible has become visible, heaven has descended to earth, and God, who was separated from us by a great gulf, whom even nature veiled from us, has come near to us. Humanity has repeated from age to age the cry, "show us the Father," and Christ came to respond "he that hath seen me hath seen the Father." Let us then look upon Jesus in his person and life, and we shall see divine truth, holiness and love shining there, and in that heavenly light we shall recognize that God whom we have long sought in vain.

But Christ is not only the supreme revealer, he is also the supreme mediator. His person, in which divinity and humanity are united, bridges the gulf that separated man from God. But it is by his redemptive work that Christ has perfectly accomplished that mediation which all human religions have vainly professed to accomplish. He is the true high-priest of humanity. He intercedes for the guilty indeed, but he does more, he offers himself as a sacrifice for them, and by that voluntary sacrifice takes away the sins of men. Henceforth the barrier which rose between man and God is overthrown, the way from earth to heaven is open. It is thus that Christ, by his person and his work, fully satisfies the aspirations of the religious consciousness, and gives the reality whose shadow only was possessed by the ancient religions. It is thus that he founded the true religion.

III.

We have now shown, in a general way, how the two great facts of Christianity, revelation and redemption, respond to the two great demands of religious consciousness. We propose now to show that all the Christian doctrines are of importance in a religious point of view because they are all connected with the central fact of redemption. There is at this day a striking incompleteness and fragmentariness in our faith, a lack of precision in our Christian knowledge, an ignorance of those marvellous things which God has revealed for the salvation and edification of our souls. Its traces are found in our preaching and in our daily life. It is one of the causes of the decay of religious life in our flocks and among ourselves. Unsteady Christian convictions necessitate a weak Christian life. If we would give to Christian preaching and life that power which they too often lack, we must give to Christian doctrine the place which belongs to it. No part of Christian truth is indifferent to Christian life. As in the realm of nature so in that of grace, God has made nothing useless. Every thing he has revealed to us is for our salvation. Let us strive then to appropriate the whole truth, for truth is a living organism which cannot be mutilated without being destroyed. We have said above, that Christianity is a revelation and a redemption, and in this way responds to the imprescriptible demands of conscience. We now add, that Christian doctrine retains its influence over religious experience only when it retains the person and work of Jesus Christ as described in the Scriptures. That is, without the mystery of the God-man, and without the mystery of the cross, there is no true revelation or redemption.

We affirm then, first, that the doctrine of the person of Christ has no religious value except in so far as it preserves intact the two facts of his humanity and of his divinity. Leave out either one of these facts and Jesus is no longer the Redeemer whom the soul demands.

If Jesus was only a man, superior to all others in the purity of his life and the religious elevation of his soul, if he was only a prophet entrusted by God with words of peace, if he was not the Son of God in a different and absolute sense, then he is not the supreme Revealer whom conscience longs for. For he can-

not say, "he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; I and the Father are one." He cannot show us the Father; the revelation he brings us is not complete; he is only a medium interposed as an obstacle between God and man. For the religious consciousness is satisfied only when we feel that in the presence of Jesus we are in the presence of God himself, the living and true God, the supreme Object of religion.

But the humanity of Christ is no less necessary than is his divinity in his character of Revealer. If God would unite himself to men he must come down to them, must lay aside that divine majesty whose effulgence they cannot endure, must assume a form which they can gaze upon without being dazzled, and which can express his own essence, Love. In order to speak a language which we can understand he must assume a human voice. For this reason God has revealed himself to men in Jesus, a man meek and lowly of heart,—in Jesus, who has displayed all the holiness and all the love of God upon the earth and in human life. We approach Jesus without fear, for is he not like unto us in all things? Does he not say, "come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest?" We come to him, and, seeing in him all the plenitude of the Divine life, we fall at his feet and cry with Thomas, "my Lord and my God."

It is because Jesus is truly man and truly God at the same time, that he is the Redeemer. The work of our redemption cannot be accomplished from without. It must be performed by an act in the sphere of humanity, the exact counterpart of the Fall. It is humanity that is separated from God; it is humanity that must return to him. It is man that has incurred the divine curse by his disobedience; it is man that must offer to God the double satisfaction of obedience and punishment. The Redeemer must be one of us, a member of our race, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. He must enter fully into the conditions of our moral life, must be tried and tempted as we are, must know all the struggles of free-will. Thus only can he offer to God a perfect obedience as a satisfaction for our disobedience and receive in our place the wages of our sin.

But if the Redeemer must be a man, he cannot be a mere man. That his work may be effectual he must be exempt from

the evil that weighs so heavily upon us, must represent in his person the human race. It is necessary that humanity, once more centered in a single individual, should determine itself towards God by an act of free obedience, even as it determined itself against him in the disobedience of Adam.

But neither a mere man nor an angel could perform such a part in humanity as this. The work belongs only to him who is at once the creator and the type of man, the perfect image of God, the eternal Word, who is from the beginning, the Creator, the Life and Light of men. It was because of this original relation that the Word undertook the cause of fallen humanity and became the second Adam, who shall rebuild all the ruins made by the first. And this is not all. He who represents humanity before God must fulfill in our place two contradictory obligations. He must be punished, and yet obedient. In short, our duty as men is, to be united to God by obedience and love; our punishment as sinners is, to be separated from him by his wrath. But how can we love a God who is angry with us, how be united to Him whose presence we fear? Jesus alone, can render to God the obedience and love due from us, because he is free from all defilement, because he is the Son of God, the eternal object of the love of the Father. He alone can offer to God his holy life and voluntary sufferings as an acceptable sacrifice.

Christ could not be our Saviour if he were not at once the Son of Man and the Son of God. To lead us through life, such as sin has made it, to console us in sufferings and strengthen us in temptation, we have need of one who is at once a brother and a God. We have need of a brother in heaven who understands our griefs because himself has felt them, who has wept as we have, who has known, as we have, the weakness of the flesh and the assaults of sin, who has lived our life and fought our battle. How can we speak of our sufferings and our errors to the God who dwells in the heavens, as inaccessible to grief as he is to sin? But with freedom and confidence we can spread our whole heart before Jesus. Was he not a man of sorrows? Does he not know, by his own experience, our physical and moral sufferings? Are we not always certain of finding in him sympathy and consolation, ready and sufficient? But

we not only need the sympathy of a brother, we must have also the all-powerful aid of a God. What an ineffable privilege, then, to find in the same person these two things which seem to be mutually contradictory. Only those who know the holy realities of the Christian life know the treasures of strength, peace and joy which the name, Immanuel, supplies.

How much of the gospel would be left, if the cross of Christ were taken away? The teaching and example of Jesus. Now we care not to deny the incomparable religious value of his teachings, nor shall we deny the religious influence of his example, in which the perfect ideal of holiness is realized before our eyes. But to hear his words and contemplate his life is not enough for the redemption of our souls. If Jesus brought us nothing but his teaching and his example, the gospel is, like the law, only an instrument of condemnation and death. For the demands of the gospel far exceed those of the law of Moses. The contrast between our own life and the perfect purity of the life of Jesus, makes us realize our own defilement and the power of sin over us more dreadfully than ever. It is not enough to show us the way, we must have strength given us to walk in it. The contemplation of holiness is not enough to heal the disease of sin. But the expiation on Calvary wipes away all the stains of the past and breaks the chains of sin which hold us captive and far from God.

In our day this necessity of expiation is often ignored. It is pretended that God has no need of so much apparatus, and it is added, sometimes, that the doctrine of the Cross is shocking to conscience as well as to reason. We hold, on the contrary, that without expiation the pardon of sin is impossible, and we add that this is the verdict of conscience, which never feels satisfied and appeased except in view of the Cross of Calvary.

What is the verdict of conscience? That there cannot be a moral law without a sanction; that to transgress this law is to offend its Author; that God cannot regard the guilty as innocent so long as he is God; that he cannot pardon the sinner except after a satisfaction which preserves the rights of his justice and his law. Conscience never pardons. It pronounces an irrevocable sentence upon sin, and the feeling invariably accompanies its action, that every crime has in it something irreparable.

This gives to remorse its most cruel sting. The tears of repentance cannot remove the stings of conscience; there is need of an expiation. Hence all religions have their expiatory rites.

To these profound instincts of conscience the Cross responds. In the crucified Jesus humanity finds the true expiation which it long sought in vain to offer to God. Upon Calvary the true sacrifice was consummated. In giving himself for us, Jesus paid the double debt of obedience and punishment which we owe to the divine law. All his life was indeed one long obedience, one long expiation, but on Golgotha the obedience and expiation were rendered perfect. The voluntary death on the cross was the extreme effort of obedience, and in the cross God pronounced final sentence upon sin. At this price only could the pardon of God be a holy pardon. The foundations of the moral order of the universe, far from being disturbed are strengthened by thus giving to the divine law the most signal sanction it has ever received. And conscience can respect no other pardon than this. It would protest against a pardon which should abrogate the law and its sanctions, and thus violate the holiness of God. A holy God, though he pardon the sinner, must condemn the sin.

But the redeeming power of the Cross is not all. The doctrine has in other ways an incomparable religious value. There is in it a whole revelation, a revelation of man. "What man wants," says Pascal, "is a religion which at once humbles and elevates him, and makes him feel his misery, as well as his greatness." The Cross reveals to us our greatness and our downfall, the excellence of our nature and the depths of the abyss into which we have fallen.

How great must be the value of the human soul, if God has not shrunk from the gift of his own Son in order to save it. But what must be the power of sin, if such a sacrifice as that on Calvary was necessary to take away its stain!

What our religious experience most lacks is the feeling of sin. We have been so long accustomed to the contact with evil, the atmosphere is so thoroughly impregnated with it, that we do not see it or judge of it as it is. We excuse it as weakness, the inevitable lot of human nature, and persuade ourselves that God will forgive it as we do. We cease to contend against sin,

and abandon the empire of our heart without resistance. Now there is nothing more likely to unseal our eyes and reveal to us all the horror of sin than a glance towards the Cross. Is not the condemnation of the Holy and the Just the master-piece of human wickedness? Is not this the great crime, including all crimes, which shows us the extent to which crime can go? And when we learn that it was for our sin the Son of God suffered this pain and ignominy, we understand as never before what sin is in the eyes of God.

But the Cross is not only a revelation of man, his grandeur and his fall, it is also the most sublime revelation of God. It proves that God is holy; it proves that God is Love. After the scene on Golgotha it is not possible to doubt the love of God. "Who shall separate us," says the Apostle, "from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation or distress or persecution or famine or nakedness or peril or sword? Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us."

And the Cross teaches us to love God. How can we help loving the God who has so loved us? In return for such a sacrifice shall we not offer Him our hearts and lives in living and holy sacrifice? Here the originality and incomparable religious value of Christianity shine forth. God causes us to love him by first loving us. For to love God is the fulfillment of the law, is the whole of religion.

But the Cross also teaches us to love men. From Calvary's rock gushed out that wondrous stream of Christian love, which for eighteen centuries has carried everywhere the alleviation of physical sufferings and the cure of moral ill. Ah, say if you will that the doctrine of the cross is folly, but not that it is sterile! The history of the world since the coming of Christ and the experience of all Christians will prove you false.

We have now to consider the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. We believe that the religious importance of the resurrection is capital; that with it all Christianity stands or falls, and that if Jesus did not rise from the dead there remains nothing of the doctrine of his person or of his work. If Jesus rose not from the dead, he was not the Son of God. If death retained him in its chains, he was not the Prince of Life. If he remained, like other men, the prey of the sepulchre, he is a man

like others. Nay rather, he has lost, as a man, his title to our confidence and true respect. For he publicly declared himself to be what he was not. He said, "I am the Son of God; no one can take away my life; I give it up of myself, I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it up again." He announced solemnly and often, that he would rise on the third day, but events gave the lie to his words. Was he then deceived himself, or was he a deceiver? Must he be charged with hallucination or falsehood? If Jesus was a visionary, what explanation can be given of the sublime instruction which he mingled with his reveries? And if he was an imposter how can we continue to believe in that ideal purity which crowned his forehead like a celestial halo? If Jesus was not raised from the dead he not only ceases to be the Son of God whom Christians adore, he is no longer the man whose moral perfection has never been equalled, and every man of sound judgment and delicate conscience is his moral superior. He descends both from the divine throne on which the faith of the Church has adored him and from the historical pedestal where even those who have not believed on him have placed him.

If Jesus Christ did not rise from the dead, he is not the Redeemer. All his work is vain, and we are still in the slavery of sin. The power of death is sin, whose wages it is. If then Jesus remained in the realm of death, sin has not really been expiated on the cross. There is nothing left us but to bewail our mistaken hopes and to seek elsewhere the Liberator who will accomplish what Jesus has been unable to do. But if Jesus has risen from the dead, all is changed! God has accepted the expiation on Calvary; Jesus is truly He that takes away the sin of the world. All the consequences of sin are removed, and pardoned humanity has found favor and communion with God.

But pardon is not the whole of salvation. It is not enough to be delivered from the curse of sin and its slavery, we must also be regenerated and sanctified. The Saviour whose whole work should be to efface the past, in order to leave us alone in our weakness, face to face with the great problem of our sanctification, could not be our *true* Saviour. We need a Saviour to sanctify us after having purified us, a Saviour present and al-

ways working, always at our side to fortify against temptation, raise us when we fall and give us each day the strength necessary for each day's combats. But no Saviour dead and buried can thus lead us by the hand. We need a Saviour living and clothed with the omnipotence of God, a Saviour like the Christ of the gospels, raised the third day and ascended into heaven to sit at the right hand of the Father and reign with him.

The resurrection of Christ is also the pledge of our resurrection, and this too is a source of incontestable religious influence. In the midst of the trials of life, man needs consolation and hope. Accordingly almost all religions and philosophies promise him a life to come, where all disorders shall be reformed and where he shall taste that perfect felicity which he vainly seeks here below. But how unsatisfactory are the representations of the other life in the religious myths of antiquity or in the teachings of modern spiritualism. In place of this problematical and cloudy immortality, Christianity gives us certain promises and living realities. It reveals to us the secret of our future destiny through an historical fact. Jesus Christ is the celestial Man whose image we shall bear as we have borne the image of the earthly man. We too shall burst our sepulchres and put on a body like the glorified body of our Saviour.

Who shall tell the value of this glorious hope? It is the great consolation of those who have lost beloved friends, that they shall find them again even as they have known them here. It is the great solace of the feeble and the suffering to know that they shall sometime change this miserable body for one full of strength, clothed with eternal youth, inaccessible to the cruel goad of pain. We ourselves sometimes feel the weight of this body of clay like a shackle upon the soul, and dream with joy of the day when this gross envelope shall fall from us, when our soul shall dwell in a body spiritual like itself, freed from the laws of matter and space, obeying the commands of the will with the quickness of thought. Say not that these views of the future are indifferent to religious experience; a religion without promises and without hope could not be the true religion.

We come now to a doctrine much neglected in our day, but one of much religious importance, the doctrine of the second

coming of the Lord. The New Testament teaches that Jesus Christ will come upon the earth at some future time, to judge the living and the dead and establish that new heaven and new earth wherein righteousness shall dwell. The expectation of the Lord's return held an important place in the religious life of the first Christians. Such is not now the case, and those sects which are filled with the idea of the Advent are too often an object of ridicule among us. It is doubtless necessary to approach these questions with prudence. But, all reservations being made, it remains true that the idea of the Lord's return is a source of encouragement and joy and at the same time a useful incentive.

And will it not be a great joy to see in all the glory of his divine majesty that Jesus in whom we have believed without having seen, whom we love without seeing, and who is still an object of scorn and blasphemy to so many? If we endure now the opprobrium of Jesus, if we are despised for his sake, we know that we shall have our day, that our faith will be justified and that all men will be constrained to recognize and adore Him whom we invoke as our Saviour and our God.

The expectation of the return of our Master ought to incite us to vigilance and activity. For we know not the day nor the hour when the Son of Man shall come, and when He comes He will demand of each one an account of the talents entrusted to him. And while the expectation of our Lord's coming excites us to activity, it inspires us also with that hope in final success, without which there can be no fruitful activity. There are moments when the sight of the obstacles which the gospel encounters and the feeling of our own weakness, make us despair of the future. "The earth," we say to ourselves, "is cursed on account of sin; all that we can do is to shun contact with its corruption as much as possible and sigh for a better world." Such despondency is culpable. We forget that the earth, though defiled by sin, is the Lord's. Sanctified once by the steps of the son of Man, it shall be finally sanctified when Jesus comes to found his kingdom here. Let us love it then as the place chosen by the Lord to establish his throne. To labor for the advancement of his kingdom on earth, is to labor in a cause whose success is certain, and this assurance supports us in all the difficulties of our task.

The subject with which we are occupied is so vast that we cannot hope to give it a complete discussion. I will therefore say nothing of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and will mention but one more doctrine—that of the Trinity. This doctrine is often said to be philosophically inadmissable and religiously useless. It appears to me on the contrary to have a high philosophic and religious value. But when I speak of the Trinity, I do not mean the Athanasian Creed, or any other theological formula by which any one has tried to express what must always remain the most inexpressible of mysteries. I mean a revealed fact. God is revealed to us as the Father who has created us, as the Son who has redeemed us, as the Spirit who sanctifies us, and to this triple revelation of God there corresponds a mysterious plurality in the very essence of God, which makes him the living God, the Divine Love.

Do not say, that the knowledge of this fact is of no importance in reference to religion. It has power in two ways. Without this mystery there is no salvation possible for the sinner, and there is no personal and living God. The work of redemption implies a Redeemer. The plan of salvation could only be conceived by divine love and realized in history, on condition that there is some one to execute it. Who could have become the God-man to reconcile men to God, had there not been an eternal Word to undertake the work? The goodwill of the Father toward us must have remained inoperative from the beginning had not the Son been able to say, "Lo I come to do thy will."

Similarly the work of our sanctification supposes a Sanctifier, a Spirit capable of acting upon spirits, a Spirit of light to illuminate our minds and make them accessible to those things which have not entered into the heart of man, a Spirit of holiness, to transform our hearts, incline our wills and become in us the principal of a new life, a Spirit that shall reveal to us the Son as the Son reveals the Father, and communicate all the riches of his grace. Surely it is only in the interest of religion, the supreme business of the soul, that we defend the doctrine of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

Still further; the Scriptures alone retain consistently the idea of a God who is both personal and living. And without this

idea there can be no religious experience, our adversaries themselves being judges. Outside of the Christian revelation the idea of God oscillates between deism, the denial of a living God, and pantheism, the denial of a personal God. Only the God of the Scriptures can be a creator in the true sense of the word. For when He creates, it is not in obedience to a necessity of his being, it is by an act of free choice. The universe is not an eternal and necessary expression of the divine life, for God has in himself that expression,—the eternal Word. And so nature, the product of the divine liberty, is not a limitation of that liberty, but a supple instrument in the hand of God, and there is room in the universe and in history for the free intervention of his love. The supernatural element of revelation and of salvation is but the logical consequence of the supernatural in creation itself. For what religion wants, is a God, who is Creator and sovereign Master of the universe, who is not imprisoned in the laws he has made, but who, distinct from the world and superior to it, can intervene in the world for the salvation of his creatures.

The New Testament lays down or takes for granted on every page the closest connection between the Christian mysteries and religious experience. Nothing can be less speculative, nothing less theological than the writings of the apostles. They are always practical, always occupied solely with the Christian life and its progress. To encourage the suffering, to direct the erring, to raise the fallen, to urge all to vigilance, charity and the various fruits of faith, this is their object. But they are not slow to ascend from facts to principles, and their practical exhortations always start from the great doctrines of Christianity, and always return there again. The entire New Testament might be cited to prove this. A few examples must suffice. When St. Paul wishes to exhort us to humility and charity he calls upon us to assume the feelings which animated Jesus Christ, "Who, being in the form of God, took on him the form of a servant, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." When the same apostle urges us to consecrate our lives to the service of Christ, he says, "And that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto

themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again." So when Peter exhorts us to pursue the contest against sin and the work of sanctification with ardor, he reminds us at how great a price the purification of our past sins has been obtained. "Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot." And John, summing up the whole of the Christian life and doctrine and the connection between them in a single word, says, "We love him, because he first loved us." The most argumentative passages of the epistles always end with an application. Thus Paul, having in the epistle to the Romans explained the whole plan of salvation and unfolded the successive phases of its realization in history, says, "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." Even the definitions of words furnish occasion for exhortation. "God is light" says John, and adds, "If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth." The grand mysteries of faith are presented as the foundation of peace and as the principle of Christian activity. So it may be said that, for the apostles, Christian experience is Christian doctrine expressed in the life; the supernatural acted out and corresponding to the supernatural in faith; miracles of grace producing miracles of charity.

The testimony of history unites with that of the New Testament. The folly of the cross has conquered and transformed the world. And because Christians have believed in that folly, they have astonished the world with the spectacle of their holy life. But whenever faith in the great doctrines of Christianity is weakened or changed, Christian life languishes and Christianity loses that power of expansion which it had at first. Compare the apostolic age and the glorious epoch of the martyrs with the religious falling away that followed. You will find that the decline of religion commenced in the decline of faith, that as the person and the cross of Christ have been obscured, piety and charity have become dim in the Church. On the contrary, the great reformation of the 16th century renovated

everything in the domain of practical Christianity by bringing to light again that true Christian doctrine which had been so long forgotten. So the movements called by the names of Spener and Zinzendorf in Germany, Wesley and Whitfield in England, and the "awakening" in France and Switzerland, were at once a return to the pure gospel and an awakening of Christian life and activity. We can then say without fear of being contradicted, that the decay or progress of practical religion always corresponds to the loss or preservation of the Christian doctrines.

It will be objected, I know, that Christian doctrine is sometimes petrified into dry formulas, and that certain othodoxies have produced nothing but religious formalism and spiritual death. I reply, that this very state of things is the worst change that doctrine can undergo. For it is a doctrine, and the most essential of all, that faith is not a simple intellectual cognition, but a moral act, in which our whole being is concerned, and by which we accept the grace of God in order to give him our hearts in return. The first lesson taught by any orthodoxy worthy of the name is that there is no true faith without a personal union of the soul with the person of Jesus Christ. Thus the fact cited against us is only a new confirmation of the principle we have laid down.

I shall be told still further that among those who in our day have abandoned traditional Christianity, many remain models of piety. I have no desire to contradict a statement at which, if true, every good man ought to rejoice. But I can see in it only one of those happy inconsistencies of which human nature, so fruitful in contradictions, offers so many examples. I may even go further and express my whole thought; I feel certain that the most pious among the men referred to are precisely those who have been longest and most completely subject to the influence of the doctrines which they have afterwards repudiated. To this despised and unrecognized influence they owe, in short, all the depth their religious experience has to show.

From what has been said we may properly conclude, that to weaken or mutilate the system of Christian doctrine is to weaken and mutilate the Christian life at the same blow. Whatever

we take away from the mystery of the love of God, manifested in the cross, is subtracted also from the peace and holiness of the Christian believer.

Let us then stoutly assert the system of Christian doctrine and assert it all! We cannot cut off any of its folly without taking away something of its power. What our age needs, what the Church needs, is not a softened Christianity, shaped according to the taste of the day and dwarfed to the stature of a religion of reason, but Christianity with all its angles, all its scandals, all its follies, for this alone can persuade and save the soul.

F. Bonifas.

II.—RUDOLF STIER AND HIS WRITINGS.*

"When the life of a man has been influential on the public life, when his character is one that is stamped by clear and distinct traits, and when it is possible to describe briefly how he became what he was—then his life may be, and indeed ought to be written." By such simple words these sons of an eminent father introduce the volumes which they have prepared in deference to a very general expression of desire. Their work has both the excellences and the defects that too often mark the memoirs composed by filial affection. What those excellences and defects are it is needless to mention in detail, as the book is not likely to be translated into English. We shall content ourselves with giving a brief epitome of the career of this honored servant of Christ and his Church; selecting such points as will tend to satisfy the natural curiosity of very many to whom his writings have been useful, with an eye at the same time to the profit of the student and minister of our own land. Our reader will trace the career of one

* From the *London Quarterly Review* (Methodist), Oct., 1869.

who combined, beyond most others, the two generally incompatible characters of an indefatigable private student and public minister; and will see amidst what singular difficulties those characters were combined. He will also have perhaps a new insight into some phases of German Lutheranism, and some of the specific difficulties of German ecclesiastical life. In order to furnish this, we must set before him some liberal extracts for which, however, no apology will be thought necessary by those who remember that they would not otherwise reach the eyes of most of our readers. As to those who read German, we can only say that this book will be found excellent reading; especially after the tedious former part of the first volume is disposed of.

Ewald Rudolf Stier was born with the century (March 17, 1800) in Fraustadt, a small town of Posen, or South Prussia. His father was a petty officer in the civil service; a man who underwent considerable hardships as the result of the French invasion. The terrors in the midst of which the youth's infancy was spent impressed a lasting stamp upon his mind; he grew up into manhood under the most fervent, almost wild, political and patriotic influences. He was the first boy in the petty schools of the towns where his father served, yet his education was nevertheless comparatively neglected. Sent at thirteen to the Gymnasium at Neu-Stettin, he by talent or circumstances found himself in time, alone in the first class, when his master advised his transference to the University. On October 24, 1815, the youth, "Vir juvenis prænobilissimus Ewaldus Rudolphus Stier, Polonus," matriculated at Berlin as student of law; a good scholar, but only of the second class, with a certain lack of philological grounding which placed him subsequently at a disadvantage, inasmuch as he never thoroughly repaired it.

This highly privileged university was at that time well manned, so far as ability goes. Schleiermacher, twenty-five years of age, was at the head of the Theological Faculty, a name already beginning to be known as the herald of an evangelical revival from the torpor of illuminism. With him in dignity, though still younger in years, stood three men afterwards to be equally well known, De Wette, Marheineke and

Neander. The Juristic staff enjoyed the talents of Savigny, Eichhorn, Göschen; while the Philosophical was sustained by Wolf, Solger, and Boeckh—Fichte having recently gone. Rudolph entered, we should say, the excited atmosphere of Berlin student-life, in those days of revolution and young German drill, three years too early; but he was one of those precocious youths the records of whom abound in university annals at home and abroad. He soon became a fierce demagogue, delighted in Jean Paul, and made the acquaintance of Tieck, who introduced him to Shakespeare. Improving on some scraps of English that certain sea captains had taught him in the excise office, he soon became an enthusiastic reader and lover of our poet, whose influence, though he early renounced him, was stamped upon his thought and style to the last. Meanwhile the study of law soon repelled his ardent poetic nature. He succeeded by great effort in overcoming his father's reluctance to the change, and yielded himself to what he thought, and we think, to have been the *Lord's own attraction* towards theology. He soon mastered the necessary elements of Hebrew, and in October, 1816, became a divinity student, and attended the lectures of Schleiermacher, De Wette and Neander. Here he found his true vocation; but Tholuck, who knew him well through life, intimates in Hofmann's German Theological Dictionary that no conscious interest in religion, but only the romantic spirit of the time, led him to this new vocation; hence it was not theology, but poetry and Germanism, that formed the impulse of his efforts at that time. "I have him now before my eyes, the effeminately delicate but bold boy, with sharply chiseled features, in his old German coat and hat; I hear him preaching to me Jahn and John Paul as the men of the age. I remember the long days that he phantasied through field and wood, because he deemed it ingratitude to the Giver of the breath of spring and sunshine to spend such days at the student's desk; and how he came triumphantly into my room to tell me of his adventures in the cause of young Germany." It is scarcely worth while to dwell upon the frivolity to which these hints refer. Suffice that for a few years young Stier was one of the foremost of the young zealots whose enthusiastic patriotism found vent in a thousand extravagances. He became

the leader, and the poet, and the pamphleteer of the party. These his early writings are full "of sound and fury,"—"signifying nothing," we should hardly add; but, as he afterwards wished them suppressed, we pass them by that we may approach the happy crisis of his life.

He was not inattentive to his theological studies. He heard those stimulating lectures of Schleiermacher on St. Luke, parts of De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament with his Psalms, and the commencement at least of Neander's Church History. Stier was from the beginning an enemy to scepticism, as it were a born believer in objective truth. Before his conversion he used such language as this concerning his teacher—to which, however, as a mere reminescence of a gossipping fellow-student, we would not attach too much importance: "I have done all in my power to understand Schleiermacher, but nothing availed until I at last fell upon the thought that he must be an Atheist (not believing in a personal God); then the scales fell, as it were, from my eyes, and from that time forward his Atheism penetrated through every word that he said." This only means that the young student was a rash and honest hater of inconsistencies, and could not reconcile the lecturer's pious enthusiasm with the habitual exclusion of a revealed truth from the premises of his argument.

In 1818 young Stier entered at the University of Halle, where Gesenius and Wegscheider were quietly but diligently undermining the foundations of faith in the inspired Word; he never forgot the flippant tone with which the former offended his taste in his delineation of Old Testament narratives, and in his allusions to the facts of Church history as the story of human follies. Knapp, Marks and Weber were to some extent a counterpoise to these. Knapp was a thoroughly sound teacher; his lectures were generally heard between those of the others, and they were in a certain sense an antidote; but there were not many who like Stier preferred the homeliness of old truth to the fresh vigor and piquancy of rationalism. If space permitted, it would be interesting to extract some of the few conversations in which the young men were accustomed to criticise their teachers. For instance, Schmidt observes after a lecture: "I have been thinking over the point, and come to the conclu-

sion that Church history is in its nature no other than history, and must as such be treated. Now it seems to me a fine feature in an historical writer that he is impartial; that he has no foregone conclusion; and so thinking, Gesenius must by me be commended, because he investigates the primitive history of Christians with the same keenness that he applies to the legends of the Catholic Middle Ages." "But," replies Stier, "who can be more partial than the man to whom everything that has a pious touch in it becomes a butt for his wit and mockery? He who will thoroughly investigate any matter must needs be without any such foregone decision as to scoff at it. I will not deny Gesenius his claims to Oriental learning, but he has no business with Church history." Stier never failed in his reverence for truth, and profoundly respected Christianity, even before he had found out the infinite secret of its power.

This he discovered soon after leaving Halle. Paying a visit to Berlin, he found that the object of his early affection had been suddenly taken away, and his thoughts turned with all their force towards religion. Writing to a friend he says:—

"The greatest earthly calamity has befallen me. Pauline—a child pure and pious as an angel, a creature on whom I hang as I would now hang on Christ—has died!! Far from me too: when I came her grave had been some time green. You can now understand my awful regeneration; you can understand how my whole faithless life, formed of mere science and various show—how all my past years, with their blind striving after the love of earthly creatures—how all my foolish and presumptuous and scheme-building years were fearfully lost and merged in one single, weeping glance from the grave of my happiness to Him in heaven who is the Resurrection and the Life! Oh, blessed be the Almighty God, who sent me the Spirit of His Son at the momont when the self in me had reached the end of its existence—which without Him must have been ruin—in Himself! As truly as I live, I have come to the sure experienec that we all eternally live in One who gives us life from without I have come to know, by a sense now new awakened, that One lives without us who can come into us in an incomprehensible manner; and that the natural man, with all his toil and care, is only blind and dark. He alone is the light of the world."

This, however, was somewhat exaggerated language. He had by no means so entirely renounced the world and himself; his final consecration was only prepared for by this great shock. He was accustomed to refer, not to that period, but to one somewhat later, as the time of his true conversion. In his nineteenth year he went to Berlin to make his own way as Providence might indicate, without any resources but his irrepressible ardor. There he fell in with some little companies of men who in that time of general awakening were in the habit of meeting for religious conversation. One of these, well known in those days as having Baron von Kottwitz for its centre, admitted young Stier as a brother, the only test being *Do you love the Lord Jesus?* Among these he found some old friends, such as Tholuck and Rennecke, and some new ones of great value. Those were days of intense religious fervor. Primitive Christianity, as described in the Acts, was the ideal these Berlin Pietists, including men and women of every degree of rank and refinement, set before themselves. The benefit to Stier was great. He began now to prosecute with ardor his intermitted theological studies. His rhapsody for Germanism now finally yielded to his devotion for Christianity. The spirit of the Moravian Brotherhood found in him a congenial nature, and in him bore beautiful fruit. Public services, and the preaching of the celebrated Löffler, sent him to private colloquies and devotions which ended in that perfect death to the past, without which he was taught to think his religion incomplete.

At this time he was in danger of becoming an enthusiast; a mystic in the evil sense of the word. The circle into which he entered soon betrayed a tendency to theosophical speculation—under the guidance of Jacob Behmen and Gichtel—that ruined its usefulness. Stier escaped the evil, and secured the good of Pietism. His friends indeed thought that he was unduly rigorous. Rigorous he certainly was; he burned all his printed and unprinted poems and essays, some of them written with great care and much cherished; he committed to the flames also his Schiller, his John Paul (with a much valued autograph letter to himself), his long-loved Shakespeare, indeed everything that might remind him he had ever lived in the world, or

that might in the faintest degree tend to seduce him back. His companion in study could not then understand all this; and long afterwards recalled the look of deep grief with which the young enthusiast would look at him over the table, as if he would say, "Oh, that I might save thy soul!" His over-prudent parents—who to the end never thoroughly entered into his views—wrote to him in a warning style; and a few sentences extracted from his replies will give a better notion than any description of ours what his early religion and ripe intelligence were at the age of twenty.

"As to what you say to me about show of devotion, I think it is better to say, once for all, what will make all future misunderstanding impossible. I have long enough kept silence about that which is indeed too sacred to talk much about, and what I would rather humbly keep to myself until God calls me. I find it hard to write in a letter about eternal matters without speaking of that which fills the whole being of my soul from morning to evening, and which I could desire should consume and banish everything else. By God's grace I have come to know and possess for all eternity Him in whom I believe, so that now—be it said in humble hope and confidence in Him who hath begun a good work in me and will perfect it—it is *impossible* that I can be otherwise than I am. I would not, so long as I live—be it longer or shorter—have any union with the world in the slightest matter; it is my study every day to break free from it and its idle glory, that I may work out my own salvation, which is of more worth to me than all it has. Since I have been in Berlin the most blessed change has come upon my soul. I have, by God's most wonderful grace, been brought to see what is the true, living, and only saving Christianity, and what is the true faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of the world, that will alone avail before the bar of God. I have been awakened out of the fearful depths of the sleep of sin, which Scripture calls spiritual death, and in which I lay with all my knowing and writing. Dearest father! I have long delayed to write thus, that I might not be the occasion of sin to you by your rejecting what I might write, and calling it *enthusiasm!*"

Here we see indications of a certain severity which, through life, tinged his judgments. The correspondence went on, especially as to his preaching; to declare Christ's Gospel was an object of deep desire, from which, however, he shrank with dread. The following words show this composite feeling, and, at the same time, illustrate the absolute and dogmatic character of his belief—a character that it early acquired, never lost, and that was the charm of his whole life:—

"I am no enthusiast; but what I now by God's grace believe is the only Divine and Scriptural doctrine. I allow myself in no dissipation that would hinder me from studying with diligence and prayer God's Word, and make salvation matter of thorough earnestness to myself before I begin to speak of it to others. One thing only remains in your letter. My confession of faith is now, and will be, I hope, if I live to die old, John iii. 16. My only glorying is Gal. vi. 14. My only God in whom I believe is named Heb. xiii. 8, and 1 Tim. i. 15, 16. The ground of my rigor and fear is found in Phil. ii. 12. The rule of my life is 1 John ii. 15–17; and my only apology to the world is Gal. i. 10–12.

Tholuck and Olshausen were his nearest friends; Olshausen the nearer of the two, as any reader of their writings might suppose. These three met once or twice in the week to read the Epistles, and to join in devotion. Their mutual influence was for good; and the fruit of those hours many all over the world now enjoy. A more interesting little group of students there has not been in the world since certain Oxford meetings nearly a century before. They knew and commented upon each other's theological peculiarities; but they kept each other right. "Thou, O excellent Stier," said Tholuck, "hast with all thy eccentricity found here thy centre; take care thou lose it not on the other side. Thou seemest to me a Kabbalistic interpreter: I still hold with the Illuminists"—alluding to Stier's calling him a Rationalistic Pietist. Olshausen, in the midst, avoided both extremes; a rare spirit in whom Stier and Tholuck were blended into a better third—too early removed to leave behind him all the evdience he might have left to prove that he was so. On one memorable evening Tholuck presented

his friend J. F. Meyer's corrected edition of Luther's translation; it was an epoch from which Stier dated his peculiar devotion to the task of Scriptural translation, and his acquaintance with Meyer, thenceforth the theological guide of his life—so far, at least, as a man so independent could be guided by anyone. An invaluable friend, though a less learned one, was Rennecke, the historian of the Moravian brethren. We must translate a valuable allusion he makes to this period. It is well worth pondering for itself, besides being an interesting testimony to Stier's early fidelity:—

"Another false tendency of the time might have been fatal to my soul had not Stier been an angel ministering to me. I received Schelling's doctrine, by which the feeling of sin, such as through our common intercourse it had been given me to experience, was in danger of being weakened. Stier, however, would admit of no compromise or middle place for the theory of sin: the sharp contrast of light and darkness alone he would receive, according to the Scripture. Sin was not to him a defect of good, but actual enmity against God, something in itself positive. I had begun to think that the darkness was only a negative thing. Hence he declared that amendment was not the first thing, but the second; the first being atonement and faith in it on our part. A third element was pietism, the root of the new life of that time; piety of heart, or to speak with Christ, poverty of spirit, the bearing of sorrow, hunger and thirst after righteousness, and those other beginnings of blessedness with which the Spirit of grace blesses the babes. There were not many who abode long in this region and threw deep roots into this soil; but among the few was Stier. With an unconscious haste most rent themselves out of it, and sought higher blessedness in Christ, without having rightly enjoyed and understood those first, but only to be constrained back to them again. For who can in his Christian career do without those first-fruits of salvation?"

The goal of his life was within view when he obtained a place in the Wittenberg Seminary for preachers, which he entered April, 1821. This institution was established by Fred-

erick William III; and three great men were at the head of it: Nitzsch as *pastor primarius*, Schleussner and Heubner. This last was made a great blessing to Stier, as, indeed, to all the candidates; he fortified their faith, gave them a deep love for theology, and strove to keep their hearts warm with the anticipation of their future work. Stier preached his first sermon on Good Friday; it is given in the extensive appendix, and is a touching proof how full his heart was of the cross of Christ. Many old friends from Berlin heard him. Tholuck was hindered, but asked for the manuscript and wrote back:—"Had I been able to be present, I should have sat in the corner, and let my tears flow in secret. I have read it aloud in our Tuesday meeting, and cannot but mark its highest quality, simplicity." Like his brethren, Stier took appointments in the district around:—

"The peasants had been accustomed, since the institution was founded, to receive the students in the place of their pastors occasionally; but they soon found a difference in Stier which they could hardly reconcile with his very youthful look. 'It is not true that Dr. Heubner made your sermon for you?' said a peasant to him once confidentially after service; another, who generally fetched the student in his cart part way, paid him the compliment of saying: 'Ah, now we have been well off; but the students have been sometimes not worth the fetching.'"

Much of the work of the Seminary was distasteful; but its theological advantages were diligently improved. Stier now began that systematic labor upon the Word of God which had scarcely any limit, and knew no intermission to the end. He began with a determination to make the attainment of, as nearly as possible, a perfect translation an object for life. He had a large quarto Bible interleaved and bound in several volumes, in which he inserted all that he found of any value for the elucidation of the text; and into another still larger folio he rewrote all that he had collected. This gave him what he called a *horreum homileticum* that never failed. These volumes were always at his hand; and enabled him to dispense with the assistance of other books, at least to a great extent. He never con-

templated the task of exposition for its own sake, always with reference to the people who were to be his charge; and the Institution gave him practice in the application of his principles. Topics of discussion were appointed at set times which brought out the respective young men; and Stier soon became known as the foremost among the exegetes, as Rothe was the foremost thinker in the place. "It was," says one, "a blessed time which I cannot look back upon without gratitude and delight. The scientific contests in which, with all brotherly love, we then engaged, had through God's grace a wonderfully stimulating effect upon every individual. One of our most eminent brethren was R. Rothe, whose keen philosophical spirit often gave Stier occasion to bring out his deeper knowledge of Scripture and his fine critical talent. There scarcely passed a day on which one did not feel himself sensibly advanced in the knowledge of sacred truth, in the life of faith, and in the love of our great calling."

The students were accustomed to criticise each other's sermons, one professional critic being appointed from time to time. It is curious to observe that the characteristics of Stier's preaching, as described and commented on at one of their meetings, were precisely those which distinguished it to the end. The critic charged him with preaching altogether from Scripture, and not at all from life. The criticism was felt by many to be just, and was approved by the authorities who heard it. The object of it defended himself in a paper circulated among the students, which, however, we have not space to include in these selections. Suffice it that he claims for his style that at any rate it was in the right direction, as "in the Bible there is preaching of the most keen, and most direct, and the most reasonable kind for all hearts of all times and of all lands."

It could hardly fail that the three friends, Stier, Rothe and Gründler, who were so eminently above their fellows, should draw around them a select circle like-minded, whose characters they might mold. This, of course, exposed the select few to the opprobrium of being Separatists, and what we should call Puritanical. They persevered, however, in spite of opposition, and in those days, at least, kept the Reformer's college from the invasion of the rationalist and the formalist spirit. Rothe,

subsequently one of the most eminent writers on theological ethics, furnishes this interesting reminiscence:—

"What brought us together as friends was a similarity of religious disposition. We were all of one mind in the sincere conviction that peace of heart could be found nowhere but in Christ, but that it was to be found perfectly in Him; and we were all as yet in the blessed season of our first love to Him. But we had reached our common faith in the Redeemer by very different paths. I had found my Lord and Saviour without the guidance of any particular human teacher, and independently of all traditional ascetic method; from a very early age I had been inwardly drawn to Him, without any specific external excitement, by a gradually ever-deepening feeling of my own personal as well of man's common need. But there was a considerable difference between Stier and me in this respect. He was a Christian of the old stamp; in him there was a noble mixture, or rather inter-penetration, of the strenuous Bible fidelity of the nineteenth century and the Pietistic, Spenerish, inward piety. That form of Christianity which the Reformation, appearing first as a church revival, gave birth to, fitted him individually as his own clothing. On him it assumed a stately and noble aspect; and it would have been to my inmost shame if it had not in him deeply impressed my soul. It did impress me in the fullest measure. When I compared the wholeness, the assurance, of my friend's personal Christianity with the unformed character of my own, I was constrained to own that I must be a learner at his feet. Stier's theology not only had its roots in Holy Scripture, but it concentrated itself almost exclusively in it; to a fuller understanding of the Word he referred everything that he acquired of other knowledge. Christian and Biblical were to him equivalent terms; the Bible was to him the whole universe of God. For those branches of theology which did not directly depend on Scripture he failed to entertain any lively interest; and all that which, in a broad sense of the term, came to be called 'modern ideas,' he quietly let alone. He did this of set purpose, and for a good reason; in order to preserve his simplicity in Christ from being impaired, and because he was anxious to keep himself from being

entangled in those labyrinths of dark human wisdom, setting itself up against the Word of God, the bitter experience of which he had already known. But this was not the only reason; these things never had for him any real attraction. He confined himself, in these matters, almost exclusively to the older theological literature; he many times assured me in those days that he did not know how to acquire any taste for our new results, or how to derive any good from them. Particularly did he repel every kind of simple formalism, or scholastic methods, in sermon or catechizing. Now, however much I shared with him this sentiment, yet my scientific impulse drove me in another direction; and a theological science was to me, otherwise than to him, a personal necessity, as indeed it has always since been. But as I have always bowed with profound respect to his teachings as an author, so also I believe he has had some regard for my little scientific contributions to theology; and—what I have always been most thankful for—in spite of the questionable character which parts of my system must have more and more exhibited to him, he never doubted my own personal Christianity. The marked difference in our individual characteristics could not avail to disturb our friendly understanding, because I was myself only too sensible of the interval that existed between us to my disadvantage. Moreover, there were not wanting objects of common interest, around which our sympathies always met, such as the older hymnological literature, and afterwards Zinzendorf and the Brethren, with whom through his suggestion I obtained a nearer acquaintance."

The reality and Christian simplicity of Stier's nature, as well as the powerful influence his character exerted, were strikingly illustrated by a matter that occurred shortly after his arrival. Part of the discipline by which the young ministers were trained for their future work, was the delivery of certain exercitations before the assembled college. Not only did the candidates preach set sermons, they were also required to harangue imaginary congregations of sinners, to deliver pursuasives to penitence and confession, to prepare and pronounce sacramental addresses, exhortations to sick persons, remonstrances with delinquents, and other specimens of pastoral rhetoric. Stier felt this kind of "experimenting in empty air upon spiritual realities

of the most inward character," this "ministering medicine to phantoms," to be a systematic assault upon the dignity and the truth of the religious life. He soon expressed his feelings to others; and with characteristic promptitude, moved his friends, Rothe and Gründler, to join him in the presentation of an address to the authorities on the subject. This was a very elaborate document, dictated by himself and written by Rothe, and, as a kind of homily rather different from those which they weekly heard from the students, must have taken them by surprise. It is true in spirit, but exaggerated in statement, and carried altogether too far, as the following sentences will show:

"First of all, we are convinced generally that the work of preaching is indissolubly bound up with the person of him who performs it, and with his own living conviction, so that every testimony and every discourse of the preacher should be no other than the immediate and free utterance of the Spirit living in him. We know from Scripture and experience that God's Word alone can testify what is spiritual truth, and must regard as wrong every theory of the preaching office which trains into the form without the reality. And the word of proclamation concerning Christ is so sacred to us, that we cannot have any fellowship with what treats it only as a word. With all respect for human wisdom and elocution, which may indeed be ministrant to the Spirit of God, we are taught by the Word that in the preaching of the Gospel all eloquence that is the result of discipline, must be below the highest place," &c.

The paper then goes on to show that it had become a matter of conscience not to exercise their preaching gift merely as a matter of form, and therefore they request to be excused from every kind of participation in this part of the discipline; it then exposes the irreverence and absurdity of learning by rote, and delivering in declamation the various kinds of pastoral address, for which their zeal and Christian intelligence ought to be sufficient preparation. This document was rather offensive to many. It requested an exemption which could not fail to be followed by some evil effects; however, the request was granted; the three and a few others likeminded never attended on these occasions, while the remainder were content to declaim to their

imaginary audiences as before. In all this there was doubtless much of the exaggeration of Pietism; but there was also enough of Christian and good principle to make the whole contest worth studying. Of course, preaching cannot be learnt as an art without its exercises, written and oral. It should be the care of those who conduct these examinations to reduce the attendant evil to a minimum. The Wittenberg officers kept their customs, while they conceded to a few dissidents a dangerous exemption. It would have been better at that time—and better for the German and English theological colleges generally—if the examination of the preacher as preacher were conducted in such a manner as to exclude everything that might make the actual service of God's house into a mere matter of form and display. But, in the process of reform, to do away with all test of artistic skill in composition and effectiveness in delivery, would be, perhaps, a greater evil than what it sought to cure. The best preaching has something of man's art as well as of God's unction.

The Seminary, however, was not a monastic seclusion. The young men were preparing for the world, and already had their ears and their hearts open to all good news concerning the kingdom of God. Wherever they heard of the Lord's presence they hastened to witness and share the blessing. And already the church was beginning to feel their influence. The following gives a very pleasing picture; it is written by E. Krummacher, who was appointed deacon about nine miles from Wittenberg, and whom our students soon found out. They were hard workers at their books, and good pedestrians too:—

"A new epoch dawned upon our German Evangelical Church, and all who were touched by the Gospel, and longed to open its way to the people, felt knit together by the most inward and sacred bonds of brotherhood. So was it with Stier and his dear friend Rothe and myself. Scarce had they heard that in Coswig a young preacher was appointed, who proclaimed the crucified Christ with all his heart, when these dear brethren came over; at the very first visit our hearts were united, and we were one in the bonds of the most sacred friendship. We frequently met both in Coswig and Wittenberg, and this never

without rich profit for spirit and heart. With joy and gratitude I remember many a long walk we took together, and especially the watch-night between 1821 and 1822, which I spent with Stier, Rothe, and young Tholuck, then private tutor in Berlin. Amidst solemn conversation, singing and prayer, we passed from the old year into the new. Dr. Heubner belonged to the brotherhood; difference of age was overlooked, and he was our most affectionate companion. He also came often to Coswig; and whenever he took his departure, we must needs always bow our knees together. At that early time of our brotherly intercourse Stier did me an essential exegetical service. I was perplexed with many doubts about the Song of Songs, and its relation to the Canon; nor could I find myself at home in the contents of the book. Stier took it in hand, and spent many hours upon the subject, showing me the deep and precious meaning of the Holy Spirit in it. Eight days afterwards he sent me over a thorough treatise on the book."

A dogmatic epistle of Stier's was blessed to the conversion of Krummacher's father from erroneous doctrine. Many others felt the strong influence of his resolute orthodoxy; some being reclaimed from error, and more being preserved from yielding to it. Tholuck still lives to acknowledge his obligations to his early friend, from whose exegetical principles and doctrine of inspiration he differed more than it was to his advantage to differ. He was at that time removed to Berlin, and kept up a lively correspondence with Stier, whose own portion of the correspondence is in this case, as in many others, lost. Tholuck writes:—

"Will you communicate to me those excellent and suggestive observations which you have collected on the first ten chapters of St. Luke, and the Epistle to the Romans? On the other hand, I will send you in all simplicity certain learned observations which your want of the sources may make valuable to you On the Old Testament I use the writings of Hess; they have brought me to a true historical insight. I see I have to thank you for reminding me that he who loves Christ will rather accept too much than too little of Him in the Old Testament, so

far as he can do so, however obscure it may be. I am more and more convinced that the ancient Scriptures contain more than people imagine at the first glance: if Christ grows in us, He grows also in the Scriptures. I do not understand what you mean by your 'primarily of man generally, in a typical sense of Christ.' *Double sense* I cannot accept; otherwise, I find several Messianic among the later psalms. Now you see I have come round to your side, even in what concerns the Kabbalistic interpretation. I have resolved to accept the double sense; see what you have won!"

On leaving this Theological Seminary at the end of two years, Stier accepted an appointment as teacher in a normal school for teachers at Karalene. But during the brief interval he paid a visit to Gerlachsdorf, where his friend Rennecke and he enjoyed each other's society for a few weeks. This visit was of considerable importance to Stier. He and his companion read together some of the writings of Luther, and were much struck by the motto of one of them: "Would to God that my exposition and that of all other teachers might go down, and every Christian take to himself the simple Scripture and the pure Word of God for himself." Stier had been, like many others, much troubled by those rash words of Luther which rejected St. James, "the epistle of straw;" words which, with some others like them, were much employed by rationalists in their attacks on the Bible. He had long made up his mind to let Luther go, and cleave to the Bible, where the two came into collision; and this evidence that Luther himself agreed with him was a great comfort. On the same occasion he gave expression to the views which are still found in his expositions on Luther's addition of "alone" in Rom. iii. 28, and his omission of "even now" in Matt. xxvi. 23.

(To be continued.)

III.—THE APOSTASY OF FATHER HYACINTHE.*

From a French Roman Catholic point of view.

A great scandal in the Church has occurred. The larger number are astonished, and do not know how to account for this loss of faith and of submission in the preacher who was pleading for submission on the part of unbelievers and enemies of the Catholic Church. The readers of the "*Annals*" have no occasion to be surprised. They have foreseen this fall, and, we may add, have for a long time, with ourselves, predicted it.

Father Hyacinthe has been the Corypheus and the oracle of that school which has assumed the name of *Christian Rationalism*,—a school of Platonic ontologists, who, calling Plato and Malebranche from the tomb, taught and still teach that man has naturally the direct intuition of the truth, that human reason is an emanation from God himself and a participation in him. We have frequently said that it is impossible for a man enlightened directly, internally, personally, from God, to submit to any human external authority. This we have said; and Father Hyacinthe, who was the noisy mouth-piece of this school has just proved our assertions and verified our anticipations.

We beg permission to refer to the exposition which we made in 1865 of the philosophical principles of this school of Christian Rationalism. "This system," we said, "has received a sort of consecration in the Metropolitan Church of Paris.† There, the writer, quoting one of the propositions subscribed by us in 1855, has given it to the audience in these words: Reason precedes faith, and hence the exaltation of reason. This proposition is true, but it is mutilated and incomplete, for the preacher

* Translated from *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, Paris, Oct., 1869. The full title of this Article, written by the Editor, A. Bonnetty is, "The Apostasy of Father Hyacinthe, the first fruit of Christian Rationalism." It is considerably abridged in the translation, but the spirit and leading thoughts are preserved.

† See the third discourse preached by Father Hyacinthe, entitled, "*Reason, the witness and precursor (111) of God*," 1864.

suppresses the close of the sentence, which is, 'and leads to it by the aid of revelation and of grace.'" Father Hyacinthe has audaciously separated reason from revelation and grace. This is the principle on which he is now acting, in setting up his individual reason and conscience against authority, speaking to him in the name of revelation and of grace.

To the tender and wise letter of his Superior, charging him with apostacy, Father Hyacinthe replies as follows:

Very Reverend Father:

During the five years of my ministry at Notre Dame, in Paris, your esteem and confidence have not for one moment failed me, in spite of the open attacks and secret accusations to which I have been subjected. I retain in my possession many testimonials written by your own hand, and referring to my sermons as well as to myself. Whatever may occur, I shall hold them in grateful remembrance.

Now, however, with an abrupt change, caused, I believe, not by your own heart, but by the *intrigues of the party all-powerful at Rome*,* you impeach what you formerly encouraged, you blame what you once approved, and you demand that I speak a language, or that I maintain a silence, which would not be the complete and loyal expressisn *of my conscience.*

I do not hesitate a moment. I cannot enter the pulpit of Notre Dame with speech warped by the *word of command*, or mutilated by *concealment.* I would express my regret to the intelligent and courageous archbishop who opened that pulpit to me and sustained me in it against the ill will of the men to whom I have just referred. I would express my regret to the imposing audience, who have surrounded me with attention, with sympathy, I may almost say with love. I should not deserve the approval of the audience, nor of the bishop, nor *of my conscience*, nor *of God*, if I could consent to play such a part before them.

I withdraw, at the same time, from the convent where I dwell, and which, in the new circumstances which now surround me, becomes changed into a *prison of the soul.* In so doing, I am

* The italics and capitals in this letter are thus marked by the Roman Catholic editor to indicate what he regards as censurable.—*Tr.*

not unfaithful to my vows: I promised monastic obedience, but within these limits,—the *integrity of my conscience*, and the *dignity* of my person and of my ministry. I promised it under that higher law of justice and *royal liberty*, which the apostle St. James calls the law of the Christian. More than ten years ago I demanded from the cloister the more complete exercise of that holy liberty, with an impulse of enthusiasm which was entirely disinterested, I dare not add, free from *every illusion* of youth. If, in return for my sacrifices, *chains* are offered me to-day, it is my *duty*, as well as my *right to reject them.*

The present is a solemn time. The Church is passing through one of the most violent, the darkest and most decisive crises of her existence on earth. For the first time in three hundred years, an Œcumenical Council has been, not only convoked, but declared *necessary;* for those are the words of the Holy Father. At such a time, a preacher of the Gospel, though he be the least of all, cannot be silent, like the *dumb dogs* of Israel, faithless watchmen, of whom the prophet says, *they cannot bark. Canes muti, non valentes latrare.* The saints are never dumb. I am not one of them, but *I know that I belong to their family*, —*Fillii sanctorum sumus*,—and I have always had the ambition that my steps, my tears, if need be, my blood, might be united with theirs.

I therefore lay before the Holy Father and the Council my PROTEST, as a Christian and as a priest, against those doctrines and practices which *are called Roman, but are not Christian*, and which, ever becoming more audacious and dangerous in their encroachments, tend to change the constitution of the Church, the basis as well as the form of its teachings, and even the spirit of its piety. I PROTEST against the impious and foolish divorce which it is sought to bring about, between the Church, our eternal Mother, and society in the 19th century, whose temporal children we are, and to which we owe both duty and love.

I PROTEST against that still more radical and fearful opposition to *human nature*, which is attacked and repulsed by these false teachers in its most *indestructible* and holy *aspirations.* I PROTEST, above all, against the sacrilegious perversion of the gospel of the Son of God itself, the spirit and letter of which are

alike trodden under foot by this *Pharisaism* of the new law. It is my deepest conviction that the chief cause why France in particular, and the Latin races in general, are given over to social, moral and religious anarchy, is undoubtedly to be found, not in Catholicism itself, but *in the way in which Catholicism has long been understood and administered.*

I APPEAL to the Council about to assemble, to seek the remedy for our excessive ills, and to apply it energetically as well as gently. But if certain fears, which I do not share, should be realized, and if the august assembly shall have no more freedom in its deliberations *than it has already had in its preparation*, if in short, it shall be deprived of the character essential to an Œcumenical Council, I shall CRY OUT to God and man *to demand another Council*, one truly united in the Holy Spirit, not the spirit of party, and truly representing the Universal Church, not the silence of some and the oppression of others. "I suffer cruelly because of the suffering of the daughter of my people; I cry out with grief, and astonishment hath taken hold on me. Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? Why then is not the wound of the daughter of my people closed?*

Finally, I APPEAL to thy tribunal, O Lord Jesus! *Ad tuum, Domine Jesu, tribunal appello.* In thy presence I write these lines; at thy feet I sign them, after much prayer and much reflection, much suffering and waiting. *Thou wilt* APPROVE *them in Heaven.* That is enough for me *in life and in death.*

BROTHER HYACINTHE,

Superior of the Barefooted Carmelites, &c.

PARIS-PASSY, Sept. 20, 1869.

This letter, before it was delivered to his superior, was sent to the *Temps*, a Protestant journal in Paris. Let us make a few brief remarks on the several principles which Father Hyacinthe here avows:

1. We see by the term *protest*, that Father Hyacinthe proposes to elevate himself to the rank of Luther. But it is easy to see that he is a rationalistic philosopher rather than a Protestant Christian.

* Jer. viii. 21, 22.

2. Like all rationalists, he applies the axiom which he advanced from the pulpit of Notre-Dame, "Reason precedes faith" in such a way, with the suppression he makes, as to signify that *reason is above faith.*

3. As a matter of fact, throughout his letter every trace of an external revelation is effaced. His Conscience and his Reason have simply a direct, personal, intimate relation with God. The *Mediator* Jesus, the Church which he founded, the Vicar whom he appointed to preserve the truth which he revealed, are passed by in silence.

4. It is true, indeed, that he uses the name of Jesus and appeals to his tribunal, but it is to Jesus dwelling in heaven, and not having *descended to earth:* it is not to Jesus as *having been seen among men* and having there established a Church and a Head *to govern it.* Still further he audaciously dictates to Jesus the sentence he shall pronounce: "If men condemn these lines on earth, THOU WILT APPROVE them in heaven." Of course! The Lord Jesus must receive "the word of command" from Father Hyacinthe.

5. While giving this order to Jesus, he refuses to recognize that of Rome. He pays no regard to the fact that the *unity of the Church* can exist only as those who wish to be Catholics submit to the *word of command* from Rome.

6. We say nothing of this appeal to the Council about to assemble, and then to another, if this should not decide in accordance with Father Hyacinthe's wishes, and then to the Council in heaven, etc. It is simply puerile and ridiculous. He had better say at once, "*I am the truth* on earth and in heaven; men must conform to my reason and my thoughts."

7. It is in fact the *liberty of his thought*, the right consequently of regarding as true everything which he thinks, that this poor rationalist claims, in speaking of the *prison of the soul* and in pretending to have the right and the *duty of resisting the imposition of any fetter.* This is the ultimate ambition of free thinkers, with no regard to the fact that God only has the right to identify *his thought with the truth.*

8. Observe the appeal he makes to the *aspirations of human nature*, which he dares to denominate *holy.* He thus sets himself in opposition to all the teachings of the Gospel, which

continually urge us to strive against nature and its aspirations. He denies, by implication, the fall of man and original sin, doctrines taught by the Church. And in this he is not only in conflict with the whole Bible, but further still with the whole human race, which has everywhere preserved the remembrance of the fall. He is even less of a Christian than Cicero, who declares that in the present state, nature gives us nothing except little sparks which we soon extinguish by our corrupt morals and *our perverse opinions*, so that *the light of nature nowhere any longer appears.*"*

Finally, we do not at all regret this step of Father Hyacinthe. The position, entirely rationalistic, ontological and Malebranchean, which he has taken, will force the blindest to see to what results these principles of *divine participation*, *divine emanation*, *direct and personal intuition* of the truth logically lead, and we are confident that the approaching Council, which will undoubtedly consider these great questions, will set forth the principles which shall clearly distinguish human reason from all pantheistic union with the divine reason. It will plainly declare that there is nothing in man, a *creature*, which may not be *created*. And thus will commence the reaction against Pantheism, which the teachings of philosophy are spreading in every direction, and which is overwhelming us.

The order of the general of the Carmelites to Father Hyacinthe to return to his convent within ten days was delivered to him about the first of October. That time would expire on the 10th. In announcing the disobedience of Father Hyacinthe and his flight to America, the *Journal des Débats* of the latter date, says: "We learn that he has gone to the United States, where he will remain but a short time, as he expects to return to Paris at the close of the year, when the sessions of the Council will have really commenced. He left on the very day which had been fixed by the general of the Carmelites for his return to his convent." It is in this way that the ex-Carmelite thinks to escape from the sad position in which he is placed; he will at least deliver others from the inconvenience of his presence. He announces his return. Will he come as a penitent or an enemy? God only knows.

A. BONNETTY.

* Cicero, *Tuscul*, 1, 2.

BRIEF NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

HAGENBACH'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES* has been known for several years as a very readable and interesting sketch of the various religious movements in Europe, especially in France, Germany and Switzerland. The author belongs to the middle or mediating school of German theologians, and writes generally from an evangelical point of view. As a popular history of the men and the influences, religious and philosophical, which have shaped the present phases of thought on the Continent of Europe, it will well repay perusal. The translator has added a valuable chapter on the state of Christianity in Europe the last ten years.

LIFE OF DR. J. ADDISON ALEXANDER.† The distinguished commentator of this name, who is known principally by his works on the Psalms, Isaiah, Mark, and the Acts, was the son of Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton, N. J., and was born April 24, 1809. He spent most of his life as Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature and other departments, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, where he was a diligent and successful student and teacher. He had no family and was a recluse in his habits. He died in Jan., 1860, aged 51. The remark of Dr. Hodge is doubtless true, that "the public can never know him as he was known by his intimate friends," and that "the power of the man was beyond his works." Without bearing this in mind, the highly eulogistic tone of this volume might seem extravagant, and in any case, a severe taste would have preferred a more moderate tone of admiration. We have always felt that in his works on the Psalms and on Isaiah, with all the excellences they possess, the author did not do himself justice; but he was a good man, a learned scholar, a fertile writer, and an eminent preacher, and deserves to be gratefully remembered as having made valuable contributions, in a sound evangelical spirit, to the exposition of the Scriptures.

WOOD'S BIBLE ANIMALS.‡ A popular and at the same a sufficiently learned work on the Zoology of the Scriptures has long been a desideratum, which this beautiful volume well supplies. The numerous designs add much to the value of the work. New interest will be sure to be given to the reading of the Scriptures by a familiar acquaintance with the peculiarities and habits of the animals of Palestine and the neighboring countries, to which they frequently allude for the purpose of illustration. We cordially wish for the volume a wide circulation, which it certainly deserves.

* *History of the Church in the 18th and 19th Centuries.* By K. R. HAGENBACH, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. Translated, with additions, by Rev. JOHN F. HURST, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1869. 2 vols., 8vo.

† *The Life of J. Addison Alexander, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey.* By HENRY C. ALEXANDER. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1870. 2 vols., 12mo.

‡ *Bible Animals: being a Description of each Living Creature mentioned in the Scriptures, from the Ape to the Coral.* By Rev. J. G. WOOD, M.A., F.L.S. With 100 new designs. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1870. 8vo, pp. 652.

FISHER'S ESSAYS ON THE SUPERNATURAL ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.* As the importance of the fundamental, historical and critical questions connected with the origin of Christianity as a supernatural religion becomes more evident, the value of these essays has naturally been more widely appreciated. They state clearly and distinctly the main points in discussion between the defenders of Divine Revelation and the negative and destructive criticism of our day, represented by Strauss, Bauer, Renan and others. In the additional notes in the present edition, the author has brought down the discussion to the latest moment, and furnished the reader with a reliable view of the present state of the controversy in respect to the Gospel of John, and with valuable remarks in respect to the credibility of the book of Acts and the emptiness of the vague pantheistic views of Renan.

BURR'S PATER MUNDI.† The professed design of the author, of whose able work entitled "Ecce Coelum" we have already spoken in terms of high commendation, is "to defend and illustrate both Theism and Christianity from the side of modern science." The present work exhibits the same power of comprehensive grouping and vivid presentation displayed in "Ecce Coelum," but the field for its exercise, in what must possess the nature of a logical argument, is necessarily more restricted than in the purely physical science of astronomy. The author also may be in some danger of weakening the force of his reasoning by a somewhat too affluent rhetoric. But the book abounds in great thoughts, freshly put, and will be read with interest and profit.

LANGE'S COMMENTARY ON PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES AND THE SONG OF SOLOMON.‡ The German author of the Commentary on these books is Dr. Zöckler, Professor at Greifswald, some of whose essays have appeared in the Theological Eclectic. He has not hitherto been known in the department of exegesis, and it must be regarded as fortunate that on one of these difficult books, at least, his views have passed under the supervision of a Hebrew scholar every way so competent as Professor Green, of Princeton. Whoever will use this volume with the highest benefit, or even with an intelligently independent spirit, must diligently use his Hebrew lexicon and grammar.

TAYLOR'S CLASSICAL STUDY.§ The eminent Principal of Philips Academy has here given a collection of the most able essays by various scholars in favor of

* *Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity, with special reference to the theories of Renan, Strauss, and the Tübingen School.* By GEORGE C. FISHER, D.D., Prof. of Church History in Yale College. New and enlarged edition. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1870. 8vo, pp. 620.

† *Pater Mundi;* or *Modern Science testifying to the Heavenly Father. Being in substance Lectures addressed to Senior Classes in Amherst College.* By E. F. BURR, D.D., Author of Ecce Coelum. In two vols. Vol. I. Boston: 1870. 12mo, pp. 294.

‡ *A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures*, by JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D.; Vol. X of the Old Testament, by Dr. OTTO ZÖCKLER, Professor of Theology at Greifswald; containing Proverbs (translated by Rev. Chas. A. Aikin, D.D.), Ecclesiastes (translated by Wm. Wells, A.M.) and the Song of Solomon (translated by W. Henry Green, D.D.) New York; Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

§ *Classical Studies; its value illustrated by extracts from the Writings of Eminent Scholars.* Edited, with an Introduction, by SAMUEL H. TAYLOR, LL.D., Principal of Philips Academy. Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1870. 12mo, pp. 380.

assigning to the Classics, in a liberal course of education, the central place. All that can be said on this side of the question will here be found, sometimes repeated, but in all cases stamped with the individuality of the several writers. A valuable introduction by the editor precedes the whole.

LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT THEOLOGICAL WORKS PUBLISHED OR FOR SALE IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1869 AND TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BIBLICAL LITERATURE: *Barrows*, Companion to the Bible, $1.50.—*Winer*, Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament, $5.00.—*Howson*, The Metaphors of St. Paul, $1.50.—*Wood*, Bible Animals, $5.—*Alford*, The Authorized Version newly compared with the Original Greek. $2.50.—*Tischendorf*, The Authorized English Version, with various readings from ancient manuscripts, $1.50.—*Folsom*, Translation of the Four Gospels, from the text of Tischendorf, $2.50.—*Noyes*, The New Testament translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf. $1.50.—*Barnes*, Notes on the Psalms. 3 vols., $7.50.—*Cowles*, On Jeremiah and Lamentations, $2.50.—*Lange*, Commentary on Romans, $5: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, $5.—*Stier*, Words of the Lord Jesus, 3 vols., $13.

MENTAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY: *Porter*, The Human Intellect. $5.—*Fairchild*, Moral Philosophy, $1.50.—*Bain*. Moral Science. $1.75.—*Hopkins*. The Law of Love and Love as a Law, $1.75.—*Lecky*, Hist. of European Morals, 2 vols., $6.

APOLOGETICS AND REVEALED THEOLOGY: *Burr*, Pater Mundi, or Modern Science testifying to the Heavenly Father, $1.50.—*Clark*, Primary Truths of Religion, $1.25.—*Dodge*, Evidences of Christianity. $1.50.—Credo, $1.50.—*Thompson*, On Man in Genesis and in Geology. $1.—*Bulfinch*, Studies in the Evidence of Christianity, $1.50.—*Garbett*, The Dogmatic Faith, $2.25.—*Smith*. Bampton Lectures on Prophecy and Preparation for Christ.—*Liddon*, Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of our Lord, $1.50.—*Walker*, Doctrine of the Holy Spirit. $1.50.—*Bickersteth*, The Spirit of Life. a Scripture Testimony to the Holy Spirit.

LIFE OF JESUS: *Hanna*, Life of Christ, 6 vols., $9.00.—*Abbot*, Jesus of Nazareth in his Life and Teachings, $3.30.—*Wickes*, The Son of Man, $1.25.

CHURCH HISTORY: *Lea*, Studies in Church History, $2.75.—*D'Aubigne*, Hist. of the Reformation in the time of Calvin, Vol. 5, $2.—*Hagenbach*, Hist. of the Church in the 18th and 19th centuries, 2 vols., $6.—*Camp*, Baptist History to the close of the 18th Century, $2.25.—*Anderson*, Foreign Missions, $1.75.—*Riggs*. The Gospel among the Dakotas. $1.50.—*Fisher*, Supernatural Origin of Christianity.

BIOGRAPHY: Life of Samuel Miller, 2 vols., $4.50.—J. Addison Alexander, 2 vols., $5.—Dr. Geo. Burgess.—Dr. Wm. Marsh, $1.75.—St. Louis and Calvin, by Guizot, $2.—Krummacher's Autobiography, $3.—Robertson's Life and Letters, $1.50.—*Sprague*, Annals of the American Pulpit, $4.00.

HOMILETICS: *Hoppin*, Office and Work of the Christian Ministry, $3.50.—*Hood*, Lamps, Pitchers and Trumpets, 2 vols.. $3.50.—*Jackson*, Curiosities of Pulpit Literature from the 14th Century to the present time, $2.50.

SERMONS: by Henry Ward Beecher, 2d series, $2.50.—Father Hyacinthe. 2 vols., $2.50.—Robertson, 6 vols., $10.50.—Spurgeon, $1.50,—T. H. Taylor, $3.—Newman.—Elliot, $5.—Lillie, Lectures on Peter, $3.50.

IV.—RUDOLF STIER AND HIS WRITINGS.

[Concluded.]

He attended the services of Gnadenfrei, a flourishing Moravian community, and thus writes his impressions. His words are all the more important as coming from one who was predisposed from youth to entertain favorable sentiments concerning the Brethren, and to sympathise with their spirit:—

"I could, while I was there, altogether forget what afterwards fell heavily on my heart, that even this was to many only letter —to me it was spirit—of life, and I joined with all my heart in the ever-recurring *Hear us, dear Lord God!* The preacher, a venerable old man, spoke with heart-moving power—at least it was so to me—of the higher lawgiving of the kingdom of heaven, which, exalted far above this earthly external order of things, aims only at pure and perfect love, which is ratified by the blood of the Lawgiver Himself, who can pour into our hearts from his death the unchangeable power of the Divine love, which then renews and sweetens the inmost recesses of the heart, and so becomes in life the fulfilment of the law, until we come to rest in the holy Sabbath upon the breast of Eternal Love, of Him who loved us unto death and redeemed us for Himself. The Lord made all this life, to my heart; and, when I was alone with my dear friend Rennecke, we fell on each other's neck weeping, blessing God that we might consecrate ourselves to the office that for ever proclaims this love. The Lord was with us, and our united breathing was: 'Overpower us utterly, O Thou Endless Love, that we may live only in Thee, and then in thy Spirit bear such testimony to sinners that we may use violence upon them and draw, yea force, them to Thy salvation, before their sins can arise to hinder them!' Then we went to the silent graves."

Established at Karalene, he faithfully discharged his duty; but his tranquillity was interrupted by difficulties relating to his ordination. The necessity of preaching a specimen sermon —or fragment of sermon—before the Faculty in an empty church, was, as we already know, revolting to him, and ended in his undergoing no examination at all. It was in this place that he gave to the world the first proof of his originality of exegetical genius, in the first volume of his *Andeutungen; or, Hints for a Through Understanding of Scripture.*

In the following year Stier received an application from the well-known missionary institute at Basle to undertake the office of teacher in theology. The eyes of the committee had been turned to Olshausen, then Professor in Königsberg; he declined the offer, but urgently recommended his friend the author of the *Andeutungen.* After dilating upon his many qualifications of piety, learning, and ability to teach, he went on to say:—"But above all he is a friend of the Lord; not, like so many now-a-days, half awakened, but one who is thoroughly alive to God, one who has not shrunk from the hard conflict of self-denial, but with all earnestness wrestles for the pearl of great price; a man in every respect marked out, whom the Lord will most surely make good use of in His vineyard, be it where it may. I have an extensive Christian acquaintanceship in North Germany, but I know none who is so well adapted as this Stier to such a post, requiring such manifold, peculiar, and thorough qualifications. I have felt bound to express to you my conviction; I could not have forgiven myself had I not turned your thoughts towards such a possibility." He also wrote to Stier, who replied:—"The sphere of labor which you mention is precisely and most perfectly that one which responds to my own wishes, and which I may say I have expected from a consciousness of being called and fitted for it. Thus there can be no question whether I should regard the call as from the Lord, and joyfully and confidently accept it."

It was with great joy and confidence that Inspector Blumhardt's proposal from the committee was accepted. It opened a prospect of release from a position which was far from congenial, and of employment in the service to which his life was devoted; while at the same time it solved a very interesting

difficulty, by enabling him to marry the daughter of Superintendent Nitzsch, to whom he had for some time been betrothed. Settled in the mission-house, he received ordination to the ministry of the Reformed Church, an ordination which, in those days of the new union between the Lutheran and Reformed branches, it was guaranteed would be respected on his return to Prussia. It is a remarkable evidence of the catholicity of spirit which animated both the ordainers and the ordained, that such passages as these in Stier's confession of faith were accepted by the Calvinistic community:—

"Since a confession of my faith in relation to the Basle Confession is required, in order to my ordination, I in all sincerity before God avow as follows:—(1.) *Concerning God*, His triune essence, His creation and providence, I believe what the Church has uttered out of Scripture in the Apostolical Symbol. As also, that in God's eternal Being, without before and after, all those are from the beginning elected to salvation whom He wills to save, *but that these are all men without exception* (1 Tim. ii. 4; Ezek. xviii. 23); and that Scripture calls the saved elect, because through their faith the election of God might come to actual realization. (2.) *Concerning Christ*, true God and true man, I believe all that is found in the Confession; and also, in particular, that Christ satisfied the Father for our sins, according to the ancient expression of the Church; which I understand as meaning that He did what before God was necessary to our reconciliation with God; that is, not that He bore in His suffering and death the wrath of God upon Himself, for the Father loved Him because of His death (John x. 17), but that he endured the suffering of self-sacrifice before the holy and merciful will of God, which, as it is the punishment and condemnation of all sinful men, is also a fire of purification to all who believe and obey; that He endured this in His holy humanity, as this gave Him a new self, &c., changing the punishment to them who believed into a discipline of regeneration, imparting the new power of His Spirit to our human nature, &c. (3.) *Concerning the Sacrament:* I believe that we should keep it in memorial and showing forth of our Lord's death, and that the bread and wine without change are figures only of the body and blood of Christ.

But I believe further, that we sinful and mortal men are truly and really fed in body, soul, and spirit with the body, soul, and spirit of Christ, as these are one in His present glorified body —fed as with the bread of life into a resurrection bodily and spiritual, &c.; that this essentially takes place without the symbols in the feast internal (Rev. iii. 20), but in a more express sense in the Lord's appointed way."

Thus at the age of five-and-twenty Stier was installed teacher of theology; his office including, however, instruction in the elements of the sacred tongues, especially the Hebrew, homiletics and pastoral lectures; besides a share in the religious government of the household, and more or less of correspondence with missionaries. By extraordinary diligence and irrepressible fervor, he kept the work of all his classes in high efficiency; and, by making his preparation for the press run parallel with his instructions, he was able to keep in view one great end of his life—to instruct the public through the press. Had his own health and his wife's continued firm, it is probable that he would have remained in the mission-house; but protracted if not heavy afflictions, combined with a certain want of sympathy and perfect understanding between him and Blumhardt, induced him to resign when his term of four years had expired.

His influence while in this Seminary was very great. Multitudes of testimonies from old students poured in after his death, all concurring in the expression of reverence and gratitude. His intense earnestness, and pure devotion to Scripture, and simple fervor in prayer, and affability in private intercourse, are recalled by many almost in the same terms. So Bishop Gobat writes:—

"I heard only the first four lectures on Isaiah, and can now only recall generally the deep impression which almost every word produced on me and the other students, and how thankful we all were to have received such a teacher. Before my journey to England I had to receive ordination in a town about fifteen miles from Basle, and it was my great happiness to have Stier as my companion. He was in the name of the Committee to introduce and recommend me to the Dean, and he did this in

the most gracious manner. I cannot now recall the thread of the discourse on the road, but it remains amongst the most pleasant remembrances of my life. If I might ever say of any one 'Would that I were like him!' it should be of Stier."

Another says:—

"During my stay in London I received from him a very copious and interesting letter concerning the marriage relations of missionaries. If the deceased was in the habit of writing to brethren abroad such comprehensive and thorough letters as mine (and I have every reason to think he did), then he did a very good work indeed for the missionary cause while at Basle."

Another makes some pithy observations, in the force of which we quite concur:—

"We soon found out that the Lord had sent us in him a great power; though young in years he was full of earnestness, light, and love. He was a teacher who taught rightly the Bible truths and all that he taught; his views were clear, his judgment sound, his deductions logical, and his thoughts, sometimes striking in their originality, always rich and full. After Meyer's manner his exegetical remarks, although thorough and free, were brief; in striking contrast with his subsequent exegetical works. With all my respect for the wealth of thought in the *Words of Jesus*, and other later works, I feel disposed to lament that Stier did not continue to teach in the chair, as in that case his works would have been more concisely conceived, and the theological world would have received a wider variety; they would then also have been much more used. In his Hebrew exegesis he imparted to us much sound, and spiritual, and ingenious matter; but Christ was beginning, middle, and end. Like Olshausen, he showed a wonderfully clear insight into the figures and types of the Old Testament and their connection with the New."

These remarks remind us of the purpose with which Stier set out—the earliest gigantic conception of his ambitious

thought—to write a commentary, in the form of running paraphrase, on all the books of Scripture; based on the idea of discovering the plan of the Holy Ghost in the construction of the whole, and the disposition of the several books. Obviously this plan would have insured the advantages of brevity, and the result would have been the exhibition of the one all-pervading idea of Scripture, at least according to the annotator's conception, with a unity of purpose seldom preserved in such attempts. Beginning with St. Matthew the young commentator reached the end of the first evangelist just as he went to Basle, when it occurred to him to submit the manuscript to the judgment of Ebel, one of his former tutors in Wittenberg. With all his independence, he was never indisposed to ask for friendly advice, and rarely disinclined to follow it when his judgment was convinced. In the present case the result was critical, and tended to the subversion of his plans and the reconstruction of his system. His friend affectionately condemned the entire project. He showed that for all the purposes of general explanation there were already commentaries enough; that the plan which he purposed to adopt would expose him to the danger of being superficial, dogmatic, and perfunctory; that he would fall into the snare of supposing that he must needs write on every subject; that he was too young and inexperienced for such a design. After very much that was aptly applied, the faithful friend dealt such tender wounds as these: "Therefore am I of the mind that the holy men of God wrote altogether, word for word, just what and as it was suitable for men of all times and all places; in such wise that every paraphrase which men would interject must have the effect of interruption. My most trusted friend and brother, you will not take it ill in me if I tell you that to me the Gospel *without* your paraphrases is more simple and clear, and therefore more edifying." This and much more of the same kind, came like an electric stroke upon the ardent young exegete. He wrote humbly to his monitor, suggesting that at least he might expound some special parts of Scripture. This was conceded, on the understanding that certain other parts were never to be touched; such, for instance, as the early history in Genesis. It is hard to decide whether this rugged bigot, who afterwards went much astray in his fanati-

cism, did Stier real service. It was well to repress the precocious ardor of a youth who purposed to give the world a commentary on Holy Scripture at the rate of a book for every Easter, and the patient himself thought that he was skilfully dealt with, as appears from the following extract of a letter to his dearest friend and future wife :—

"But chiefly I have to bring with me for you an important letter from Ebel, who has effectually been my master, and blotted out in one hour all my plans for paraphrasing Scripture, so that they are not likely to rise again. That is naturally a matter of the greatest moment, and it was an hour of grace for my whole life. The Lord does not leave me alone, but purges in His own time and way the branch, that it may bring forth more, that is better, fruit. Ebel, after reading through what I had already written, has made it plain as the sun that this kind is good neither for me nor any one else; he has taken a covering from my eyes, and I can heartly rejoice that now I better know how I may serve the Lord. He has thoroughly made me acquainted with myself."

But before much advancement could be made in the knowledge of God's ancient Word, its language must be studied. Stier had never been fundamentally grounded in philology, and his Hebrew was altogether of his own acquirement. Not content with any helps that were at hand, chafing restlessly at the dogmatism of Gesenius, whose rapid rise to supremacy was matter of deep grief to him, and filled with an enthusiastic notion of the treasures which the Masorites had been raised up to bequeath to posterity, he set about the construction of his own grammar. He worked his way through the ground forms of the language—*docendo discens;* but it was not until several years afterwards that he sent his work to the press. When it was given to the public, Ewald's labors were too recent and too striking to allow any chance to a competitor; especially to a competitor whose principles were somewhat mystical and might seem to have a strong touch of Kabbalism in them. But though Stier was not destined to win fame as an innovator in Hebrew letters, his studies were of great importance to himself;

while the public has the benefit of them in the thorough learning of his works on Isaiah and the Psalms, and his own countrymen, particularly, in his contributions to the revision of Luther's version.

During the first year at Basle appeared a volume of hymns, the reception of which was far from enthusiastic, either among friends or foes. Many hymns of mystical strain, with touches of too glowing symbolism and over-colored religious fervor, together with some paraphrases of Schiller, to which at an earlier date his rhyming gift had been perverted, tended to lower the book in the opinion of the best judges. But he found consolation in the prosecution of his *Andeutungen*, which was the vehicle for the expression of his deepest thoughts concerning the depths of Scripture, and the true principles of its interpretation. The third and fourth volumes of this work were issued a year later, and contained the exposition of the discourses of the Apostles in the Acts, a translation of which has just been issued by Messrs Clark, to be referred to hereafter.

On leaving Basle—the necessities of which demanded a far less thorough teacher than Stier—he received ample attestations of his distinguished gifts for the benefit of the Church of Christ on earth, of his extensive learning, peculiar talent for the instruction of young men, and uniform Christian excellence. The testimony expressed the Committee's sense of their loss: "They would have regarded it as a great advantage if he had seen his way clear, and circumstances had allowed him, to discharge for a long series of years the task allotted to him." Some time before his departure, overtures were made to him, from a mission-house recently established at Berlin, to undertake the directorship. He hesitated much to reject the offer: knowing full well how onerous and distracting the duties would probably be, he yet suffered negotiations to proceed. But when he came to the point, and asked what leisure would be allowed him for necessary literary work, he was informed that the Institute would demand all his time and energies. This settled the matter: and the young pair traveled slowly to Father Nitzsch, in Wittenberg, there to await the indications of Providence.

Stier's mind turned strongly, indeed vehemently, towards the pulpit and the pastoral charge. His friends were anxious that

he should apply for some cure in a large town that might have a professor's chair connected with it. But he firmly resisted: "No more a professor's chair for me, only the pastoral office. Sermons must now continue my old Bible analysis; cure of souls must be the counterpoise of intellectual cultivation; the elements must now be laid aside." It was no easy matter, however, to obtain a charge in the National Church of Prussia: application after application was rejected by this and that pompous official, each one being armed against him by some prejudice derived from his past character as a Pietist. He defended himself with vigor, but his protests were unheeded. Applications made for certain vacancies in his own province of Posen —where it would have been very much to his joy to labor—were bootless. The magistrates in one place were divided, and the majority rejected him, (1) because he had failed in the form of his application; (2) because he had studied law in former years; (3) because he had belonged to the demagogues; (4) because he had been in the Mission-house. At length, a personal application to the Minister of Religion at Berlin was successful, though not until he had been subjected to the indignity of dilating on his personal claims and the value of his preparatory practical labors. He took the poor prize from many competitors: first was promised most favorable consideration, then commended to the authorities in the Merseburg district, and finally found himself pastor of Frankleben, that is, after local probation of his preaching gift, with an income of between five and six hundred dollars per annum. He was required to send in to the Consistory a Latin narrative of his life; in due time the little church was confirmed to him to be instructed in the Word of God "as it is contained in Scripture, and in the formularies of both Evangelical Confessions, so far as these Confessions agree together." The union of the Lutheran and Evangelical Reformed churches, which began in 1817, had rendered it easier for him to take office after his four years' service in the Swiss Church.

The interval of a year, meanwhile, had not been idly spent. Correspondence with a large circle of friends, reviews in several theological serials, occupied the fragments of his time; the completion of the *Andeutungen*, and the preparation of a work on

Homiletics, to which he gave the name *Keryktik*, filled up the better part of it. Like most of his earlier works, this one is marred by an overstrained element of mysticism, as well as by an excessive tendency to minute analysis. Its publication involved him in no little controversy, which made clear to him the fact, made more and more plain to the very last—that he could belong to no party, but must stand alone. By the free-thinking, or, as they called themselves, the scientific theologians of the day, his works were simply treated as if they did not exist; they were bitterly reviewed by Lücke and others of the more orthodox critical school, whom he was in the habit of too unsparingly denouncing; his own circle of friends only freely expressed their scruples, and shrank from the flights of his enthusiasm. In short, he had paid a heavy penalty for two faults which he had committed at the outset; that of unduly depreciating theological science in others, and that of thinking that everything he wrought upon must be printed. But we now follow him to ten years of a new and eminently fruitful career.

In Frankleben, Stier found a lamentable state of things. However kind the people were to the new pastor and his wife personally, they manifested no trace of spiritual apprehension; and were in the habit of talking as if it were an "understood matter that religious offices were a matter of business and maintenance to the Parson." In all the villages around, as he soon found out in visiting his neighbors, there reigned the most torpid rationalism with all its consequences; the pastors regarded the glebe and the farming far more than the office, and discharged their duties in the most unblushing manner as mere forms.

"An old pastor in the neighborhood made the new minister at Frankleben his *Beichtvater* (confessor), as he had done his predecessor; but looked very much astonished one day when Stier, after receiving the confessions of others, asked it of him also in the sacristy; almost like Cato with the augurs, he thought in all earnestness 'that this was all very good for the people, but that *we* can do away with such things among ourselves.' Some time afterwards he was invited by a brother

clergyman to his communion festival. However much Stier recoiled from a custom which interfered with such a day, he on this occasion went. A considerable circle of clergy were assembled. After dinner, anecdotes were read for the general entertainment, and many of them of a very objectionable sort. Stier then interposed a modest objection, and asked whether a better selection might not be made on such a day as that; an explosion of laughter was the reply. He immediately took up his hat and stick and departed."

His fervid preaching soon began to tell. There was a gradual awaking among the people; the afternoon prayer-meeting began to revive; people flocked to his ministry from all parts, and the signs of a true revival were manifest. The young people were impressed with the reality of religious services; and, as might be expected, the devout adults soon desired more intimate means of grace and religious communion than the public services offered. On a certain evening he was in the habit of receiving the men, and his wife the women, for religious conversation, much to their benefit. This, however, was soon noised abroad, and the superintendent thought it necessary to bring these "conventicle services" before the Magdeburg Consistory, in the decision of which, however, good sense triumphed over bigotry. At that time there was no watchword more full of reproach than that of "mysticism;" and Stier took every precaution against the creation of a sect within the Church. But he bore his cross meekly, and did not shrink from incurring the reproach of many of his brethren, far and wide, by promoting temperance societies, and other forms of usefulness, which shocked the stagnant Christians of the district. Tholuck says in his sketch: "The writer, once in an inn at Frankleben, asked what kind of a man the new pastor was, and was told, 'He is a mystic;' and when he asked what kind of people they were, had for reply, 'They are preachers who live as they preach.'"

In those young and vigorous days he set himself heartily to the work of reformation; not an abuse, private or public, in religious matters that he did not assault. He was a reformer from Luther's translation down to the payment of sacramental

fees. Open sinners were repelled from communion, many frivolous practices abated, the prevalent laxity attacked by restoring an old usage of reading out (on new year's day) the names of all the children born and young people betrothed. Not content with private exhortation and public preaching against abuses, he endeavored, though mostly in vain, to stir up the clergy around; and in some cases petitioned the ecclesiastical authorities, and even the King himself. This last was occasioned by the pernicious custom of holding an annual fair on a Sunday in his neighborhood. Part of his petition will explain the case:—

"Deeply persuaded in my own unworthy self that the meaning of the Divine command, 'Keep holy the Sabbath-day,' extends to Christian states, and full of confidence in the sentiment of your Majesty, as shown by many ordinances for the welfare and dignity of the Church, I venture hereby to submit the most humble question—Whether it is in truth the mind of your Majesty that generally on Sundays and festivals, fairs should be held in your Majesty's states? In case your Majesty should be pleased to issue a prohibition, not only many ministers of the Church, in whose name I make this request, but also a large number of your Majesty's Christian subjects, would bless your Majesty before God for the removal of the occasion of so many sins through a royal acknowledgment of the law of God. In the opposite case they would contemplate the continuing desecration of the Lord's Day with deep sorrow, but with submission to the will of their beloved sovereign.' Stier received a communication from the Cabinet that his Majesty had been pleased to demand a report; but he had no further token that his letter was regarded. On the contrary, the fair at Amsdorf is officially appointed in the Calendar for 1868 to be held on Sunday; and the same may be said of many other places."

The new "offices" adapted to the union, which had been produced by Frederick William III. and his ministers, and which were now made binding in Saxony, were matters of close scrutiny to him. On the ter-centenary of the Augsburg Confession in 1830, his altar was conformed to requirement; a new crucifix and a new Bible established, and all things done according to

order. But the Book of Offices offended him on some points, and he sent a general request to the Minister of Religion to be allowed to observe his own mind as to certain particulars, such as re-arrangement of certain prayers, freedom to compose his own liturgical service for certain days, important changes in the Communion of the Sick, concerning which last we must give an extract, somewhat abridged:—

"8. In one particular case I am constrained most submissively, but most urgently, to ask dispensation from the use of the Formulary—that of the Communion of the Sick. Here I am commanded to use the same forms always and in their order. To my feeling it seems very improper, and tending to a superstitious regard to the power of a mere ceremony, to read the ordinance out of the Church book, and only to read the confession, as it is called, to the sick man. I might call it unrighteous that the watcher over souls, who stands at the bedside of the dying with the sacrament in the name of the Lord, should be *forbidden* to speak freely, and freely to pray, as the Spirit may influence him at the time. If, on every occasion, that only may be read which the Formulary appoints, shortness of time will necessarily leave but little time for extempore words. In this holy act, therefore, in which I have always acted *without any offices* at all, be pleased to grant me the same freedom, without which I should not be in a position to discharge my duty freely and with good conscience."

On many of the other points toleration was granted, but on this, No. 8, the guardian of the law, Dr. Haasenritter, was rigid. However reasonable the request for dispensation from the formularies of sick communion in certain cases may be, it could not be conceded on the grounds herein named. But the young minister seems to have observed his own mind. He from that time forward made liturgical revision a special point. The concessions obtained by his straight-forwardness justified him in innumerable little modifications, which finally resulted in a set of Private Offices from his hand that became very popular throughout the north-east of Germany. Not that he undervalued the liturgy; he valued it perhaps too highly, consider-

ing its general character, but he considered its perfection to be attained only by judicious extempore or occasional supplements. Its importance as a standard of theological truth was felt by him in Germany, as it is felt by most wise men in England. And this, after his manner, he took care to tell the public. He published in the *Kirchen-Zeitung*, and then separately, a vigorous essay, called "The Theological Chair and the Church; or, Rationalism and the Offices." Schleiermacher had the folly to attack this, and thereby to rank himself among the Rationalists; and this brought out another pamphlet yet more vigorous, "The Apostolical Confession of Faith and the Offices."

These were years of great literary activity. Stier had been a considerable writer of reviews, especially in the serial of which Hengstenberg was editor. But editorial tampering was as distasteful to him as to most other writers. This, however, he endured, and wrote on until he found his independence as well as his style interfered with. For instance, Hengstenberg sends him a copy of Schleiermacher's sermons, with the following note of instruction: "Putting together all that I have heard of the reception and effect of earlier essays against Schleiermacher, I have to request you to be as gentle and sparing as possible in expression; there are many good Christian people here, among whom, by way of example, I may mention only Gen. Th., who, in reference to Schleiermacher are very easily susceptible of being wounded, although they do not exactly make his cause their own," &c. Stier at once declined; but it was otherwise with the request of one to whom he had never denied anything, Meyer wrote him: "As it regards my *Glaubenslehre*, I cannot think with indifference of the effect upon the readers of the unripe judgment of most of the staff of the *Kirchen-Zeitung;* hence I ask you to provide a review of your own. Nothing can be said of the preoccupation of your views, but I know no one who better understands me than you, and who would show more moderation in differing from me." Considering their relations, this was something of a trial; and scarcely less so the review of his brother-in-law, Nitzsch's "System of Christian Doctrine." "Thanks," writes Nitzsch, "for your review of my 'System.' I have been able to get more good from your unprinted notice than from five or six printed ones that I have

read. I have only this against you, that you know so much so postively, and will speak of it as certain, that has no clear word of Scripture in its favor, and cannot by any other Christian man be proved true."

Having published his *Keryktik*, he in 1830 printed a volume of sermons to illustrate his principles. They were, as it were, a manifesto against the too prevalent habit of making the text a mere motto; and showed, like his subsequent sermons on the Gospels and Epistles, that a thorough penetration of the meaning of the Scripture, and the most careful unfolding of the context, might be made quite consistent with the idea of public instruction. As works of art they are simple and unlabored; and to our mind the illustration and application are too entirely drawn from the Scripture itself. Were it not for some faint trace of a symmetrical order they would seem to be mere expositions of a paragraph, which certainly can never be made the theory of the modern sermon. Stier then set upon the task of correcting Luther's Catechism; much to his own satisfaction and that of his friends, he soon provided what aimed to be an accommodation of the old standard to modern requirements. Again and again he issued improvements on this work, the importance of which he himself estimated more highly than almost anything else that he wrote. Meanwhile, his first attempt did not meet with universal acceptance. Some thought it presumptuous; others thought that not Luther himself could have improved Luther; while many considered the book useful for the teachers, but not for the taught. But whatever might have been, and may be, the general estimate, the several catechisms bearing his name are excellent little manuals of divinity, and give evidence of the extreme care with which Stier was accustomed to train from year to year his candidates for confirmation.

Not content with this, Stier challenged the attention of the Christian public to the state of the Church's services of praise. He mourned deeply over the impoverished collection of hymns in common use. Nor did he rest until a new collection was ready for the public, for which he earnestly but fruitlessly endeavored to secure official authorisation. Though he inserted only four of his own productions, and the superiority of the book as a whole was acknowledged, it was not until many years

had passed that he attained his object in any degree. A far more important work at this time began to engage his attention, and one which he persevered in for between twenty and thirty years,—the publication of an amended edition of his master Meyer's revision of Luther's translation of the Bible. After encountering much opposition from individuals and from Bible societies---opposition which he manfully resisted in pamphlet after pamphlet—he had the satisfaction in 1838 of correcting his first proofs of the work which, slowly stereotyped through a long course of years, was finally published in 1856, and is undoubtedly, with its original and striking collection of parallel passages one of the best modern editions of the Bible, one which the student (familiar with German) should always have at hand.

Having paved the way by the publication in 1833 of the "Hebrew Grammatical Accidence," Stier prepared for the press his first great critical work on "Seventy Selected Psalms;" the first part of the book, and the more valuable, being the Messianic Psalms, which are most exhaustively, though not diffusely, treated. For this work he had prepared himself, since the Basle elements were mastered, by a thorough study of the Chaldee Paraphrases, the Talmud, and even the Arabic. A glance at the book is sufficient to show its immense learning. Yet he published the first part with considerable apprehension; he says in the preface that "his outward vocation, and the limitation of his reading required thereby, forbade the presumption of reckoning himself among the scientifically learned, or placing himself in that circle of scholastics who are only to be rejected when they arrogantly use their learning, and are otherwise to be deeply respected." His friends heartily welcomed the volume, although some of them demurred to the dogmatic tone in which the ancient Psalms were made to give up their meaning—as, for instance, Schmieder in the following words:— "If I may give expression to any qualification, I may say that I feel some anxiety with regard to the iron rigidity with which your principle is carried out. That which comes out of the Psalms as the breath of the Spirit becomes something different when it is seized and set down in definite ideas and absolute precision of words; one would fain have the meaning of the Messianic Psalms itself uttered in Psalms." Vague criticism

this, but containing an element of deep truth. His old tutor DeWette dealt with the book in a very harsh style, just as Ewald treated his grammar. Stier was tempted to attack the critical dragon, but first consulted Nitzsch, whose marvellously clear mind saw the state of the case, and sent this advice:—

"Do not write against DeWette, unless you have something to say that will further the cause of scientific theology, or tend to awaken and confirm the faith of the Church; so that the personal part of the matter shall be quite subordinate. For my own part, I have made it a law never to write a criticism on another's work, especially an anti-criticism, without being fully pursuaded that I can use the occasion to make the matter more clear to myself or to the public. It is true that DeWette has spoken unrighteously and untruly about your exegetical tendency generally, and some of your expositions in particular. But he himself has made many a blunder in the Psalms. Meanwhile, have you not beforetime treated him harshly and intemperately? I will not decide, especially as I am not familar with your department. Sack is very busy with your Psalms. He praises them often, but blames also; he thinks he has found that," &c.

It was of some importance that Umbreit gave him in the theological *Studien und Kritiken* a very laudatory notice, and Stier defended himself from the attacks that were aimed at him on all sides by essays in the theological periodicals, one of which, on "The Stages and Goal of Scripture Exposition," deserves to be read by every one. It is the most complete statement of the principles of his exegesis that he ever gave; and we think that Messrs. Clark would do good service by including this and some more of Stier's very spirited and thoroughly wrought-out essays in a separate volume. Nowhere does he appear to better advantage than in his occasional papers, pamphlets, and prefaces.

In 1838 Stier was induced by his friends to seek an appointment in the neighborhood of Barmen, in Wupperthal; a sphere of high Christian activity, the center of a flourishing missionary society, and other religious organizations. But he must

needs go and be tried: for, although his writings spoke for him among the select, it was known that there would be much opposition, and another candidate was in the field. The following letter to his wife will give a clear view of the situation, and be read with interest as throwing light on modern Lutheranism:—

"On Sunday I preached in the great Wupperthal church and tarried over-night with Pastor Feldhoff, who would be my nearest neighbor. The church was crowded as I have never seen any before; they reckoned that four thousand were present, and many had to go away. The Lord gave me thought and confidence; this time I spoke extempore after my own fashion (whereas the Wupperthal preachers are in the habit of writing all and committing to memory), and gave great satisfaction—only all did not quite understand me because I was not attentive to that point. Then came the meetings to take me into examination. On Wednesday the festival was in Elberfeld; in a larger church I corrected my error and was understood by all. First Sack preached, mild and good; then came myself, with a free discourse on the mission cause and the report; then another spoke and prayed. Hassell, the publisher, came at once for the MS., which naturally I could not give him. Service was from half-past three to six, and then an evening collation, which I hardly know how to name. You have no idea how matters go here. Tobacco-smoking, singing of spiritual verses, prayers and addresses, wine-drinking and conversation—all mixed together in one great crowded hall, where scarcely any one was who did not love the Lord and was a noble man in his own place. The adherents of my *fellow-besought* (so, thank God, they call us here, not *fellow-candidates*), Pastor M. of Bremen, do their best. They have brought him; he preached to-day and on Sunday; after friendly greeting I have left the field to him—I leave it in God's hand, and can only say that we must be ready to migrate at Michaelmas, though with the possibility that the contrary may be the case. As to the *confession money* I have spoken plainly, and it is hoped that this will be no hindrance. As for *you*, my Ernestine, I may rejoice like a child, for you will come into a kind of Paradise.

All the women whom I have seen are as *simple* Christians as we could wish, and look forward to having you with great pleasure. They say that in Wupperthal there are two or three women believers to one man—only think! Simultaneously there is another place that wants me, quite as agreeable in externals, Gütersloh near Bielefeld, where almost every one wishes me to come. Eight days hence I was to go and preach; indeed there will probably be a deputation here! Of course, I cannot accept that, because I am bound to await quietly the result. And indeed the mere transference to this part of the country, without the peculiar recommendations of Wupperthal, does not seem to me the Lord's will."

Party ran high, and the contest was slowly decided. On the 15th the election took place as an act of Divine service, as usual under the direction of the superintendent; and twenty-six out of the forty-eight electors or "representatives" of the Church were for Stier. At first there was a strong disposition to oppose; but, as the opposition was organized under the influence of local prejudices and party feud, calmer reflection brought acquiescence; and, as the protest did not touch his own person or character, there was no reason why Stier should not enter upon the new sphere with some measure of confidence and hope.

At first all went well in this new sphere. But by degrees Stier discovered that the ecclesiastical character of the Rhenish province had been invested with an illusive attraction. The eight years of his ministry in Barmen were not the happiest in his life. Party spirit was strong in his immense congregation; and those who had opposed his introduction were bent in turning to the worst account his independence, his abruptness of speech, his comparative indifference to social pastoral visitation, and the severity of his dealing with human infirmity. "What you complain of," he writes to a brother pastor, "applies also to this charge; there is a special lack of unity among believers, and it might seem my particular vocation in this sense also to be a union-man. There is very much that I have to fight down; but I know my orders and hope in grace to be firm. There is already, as, alas! the tendency here is always, a specific circle

forming around me. Moreover, I am very thankful that I have the opportunity of showing my interest in missionary work." Here, however, as in Frankleben, his preaching took the neighborhood by surprise, and his church was crowded, though not always by entirely satisfied hearers, as witness the following extracts from a letter signed by numbers who heard him preach once on Luke xvi. 22. We give only the prominent points:—

"We do not think that anything like this has before sounded from the Wichlinghäusen pulpit, nor did we suppose that you would so soon begin to give us such sermons. We do not assume to doubt that here and there in Scripture hints are to be found which require us to interpose an unexpressed sentence; whether, however, it exists or not, we are not disposed to assert with regard to many an obscure passage; at least we think that you far too distinctly and fully exhibit and expound your supplied text as contra-distinguished from the Word of God. You will not take it ill if we venture to say that this kind of preaching should not be brought into the pulpit; for we find in such preaching neither blessing nor edification, either for ourselves or for others; and yet this ought to be the aim of every evangelical preacher. Not only believers have been wounded, but people of the world have been prejudiced, and you will encounter a general opposition if you persist."

All this may partly be explained by the fact that the valley in which Stier labored was much troubled by the remnants of certain Pietistic sects, which had perverted good principles into some very perilous forms of evils. There were in Wichlinghäusen multitudes of the adherents of the Collenbusch doctrine, which, in its mysticism, made light of external things; realized truth only within the heart, "taught that men might attain unto perfect holiness and likeness to God in this life, and that every step in the advance towards that perfection may and must be consciously marked." All this was but a refined corruption of profound and precious truth; but none knew better than Stier how fully redemption must be internally reproduced, what glorious provision is made for the extirpation of sin and the restoration of the image of God in Christ upon man's soul, and the

constant testimony afforded by the Spirit of His own gifts. But he saw that the danger of some of his people was very great. He remembered the narrow escape he himself had had from the snares of theosophy; and it may be, that sometimes his language in the pulpit when denouncing so-called "pious discourse" was stronger than his people could tolerate, and stronger than he would have used, save under the impulse of desire to save his flock from a great delusion.

In fact, the charge of a church such as that over which he was set must have been an intolerable burden. Composed of thousands of people, of all shades of opinion from blank Rationalism to mystical enthusiasm, without any principle of cohesion, having the pastor in the midst of them as a symbol of a unity that could not be secured, it was not to be wondered at that this was a turbulent and uncongenial sphere. He had all that he could wish among the select few, the real Christians of the community. His relations also with the clergy around were generally of the most pleasant kind. The valley abounded with charitable organizations and festivities; missionary and temperance societies taking the lead. In these he took a prominent part, and gradually assumed his rightful place as one of the main pillars of the Rhenish evangelical churches.

Among other matters of complaint, then and afterwards alleged, was his indifference to miscellaneous intercourse with his flock. Neither his temper nor his time allowed this free fellowship; but all the more solicitous was he to discharge the duty of guardian over souls in relation to individual cases. He was accustomed to use a "Seelenbuch" (Book of souls), in which conversations with individuals and the details of special cases were inserted for future guidance. His successor in Frankleben wrote him for explanation, and received a long letter, which ended with the following paragraph.—

"Oh, how easy and pleasant, dear brother, must your little flock be to you! Always work enough, but such as you can go round about, so that, devoting yourself altogether to the Church, your soul-book is by degrees carried into your head and heart. To me it was very new and very hard, when I found that among 3,000 widely scattered people I must give up

the idea of the perfect cure of souls, or even of knowing the individuals of the flock at all. The only thing I could accomplish was a list of houses with the names of the occupants; imperfect, however, as the factory workmen are continually changing, so that every May my list is only half true. According to my experience here, and at Frankleben, while the general care of souls ought not indeed to be wanting, so far as possible, the real benefit of it is found only among those who are impressed by the preaching. Not only when we can do nothing more, but universally, the public preaching has the great promise of usefulness; upon it, therefore, we must concentrate all the strength that the Lord gives us. The people receive God's Word from the pulpit, and the spirit distributes it to them individually; when it is brought to them personally and apart, they find it easier to decline it. One might say that the minister's personal intercourse with his flock has a threefold end: 1. Generally to awaken confidence by showing that the minister, out of the pulpit, while he is a man, is the same minister of God; 2. In specific cases to rebuke or awaken, in order to prepare for the preaching; 3. Pre-eminently, however, to collect into nearer fellowship and closer care those who have been awakened through the Word."

Having finished in 1842 his contribution to the new Luther-Meyer-Stier Bible (his own best part being the parallel passages), he published a series of discourses on the Hebrews, in the form of which he endeavored to follow out a hint of Nitzsch. That sharp-sighted relative wrote: "I exceedingly value the ingenious, almost John Paul-like, manner in which Tholuck, Meyer, and some others of you handle such matters; a style that has become necessary as a kind reaction against superficial intellectualism. But what is really needful is something to be given to the laity in the *form* that Menken works in, and to theologians in the *form* Schleiermacher, Lücke, Usteri, and a few others adopt." The work on the Hebrews is, in our judgment, the best specimen of a popular exposition that Stier produced, and is surpassed by few as a clear, readable, and at the same time profound, exhibition of the line of thought. *Non coquis sed convivis*, "not for the cooks, but for the guests," was

his motto; but the learned appreciated it very highly. From this task the writer turned to the great work of his life, the *Reden Jesu.* Two years of his ministry had been devoted to preaching through the most prominent of the Saviour's discourses, and bringing out before a sometimes reluctant audience the inexhaustible riches of the "words of the Word." In six months this labor of love had reached the end of the first volume, which he sent to a friend with the words, "You see from this book that I have not been cabined and confined here without some profit." From this grand task—the indication of the depths of manifold meaning in the Saviour's discourses, and at the same time the attempt to throw out a sketch of the great Divine-human character—he never turned aside, until it was finished in 1847. Very late in life he published an extract, in the *form* of the exposition of Hebrews, entitled *Words of the Word.* The thorough student of Scripture will always go to the large work with profit; when the diffuse hyper-analysis offends, the *tone* will always edify, and the thoughts be found suggestive; but the smaller work will in the end be more popular.

During his residence in Wichlinghäusen, Stier lost his invaluable wife, and contracted a new marriage. His old malady still troubled him, sometimes requiring him to preach in a sitting posture; indeed, from about his fortieth year he was subject to almost unceasing attacks of a very distressing character, About this time we have an interesting account of his daily life given by his widow:—

"The first calm morning hours only were devoted to the study of Holy Scripture. Punctually at five o'clock he was at his study table, and took his coffee alone. Some three hours afterwards I brought him his slender breakfast, without saying a word to interrupt him; though our morning greeting was seldom without some brief remark upon Scripture for my benefit. The forenoon of Saturday, as also the early hours of Sunday, were devoted to preparation for preaching. Then I must needs keep all if possible from him. His own children he saw first at dinner; save on Monday forenoon, when he would find recreation for half an hour in the nursery, playing and building

with them. Though he had but little time to occupy with their learning, his intercourse with them was so stimulating that they profited much by the little time he had to give. He was teaching them and awakening their thoughts when he seemed to be only sporting with them. His discipline was by no means feeble; he required absolute obedience and strict honor; but he left them great freedom, and there was great openness between him and them. He could scarcely ever take a walk with his family. In the week he had no time; when there was no service he had the sick to visit. In his walks to those who were distant I sometimes accompanied him; he told me all that moved him, but generally his conversation was an exposition of Scripture. So also at the table; it was generally some true or false interpretation of a passage that he discoursed on. I soon learned the habit of watching the children with my eyes, giving them their food with my hands, and listening to him with my ears. His perfect rest was in the evening, when Divine service did not occur; as then his work was done, the fear of sleeplessness prevented him from reading or writing. Besides Holy Scripture, and the things that are of supreme moment, he was versed so thoroughly in natural science, and had so much appreciation of art and poetry, there was a blessed freshness in his hours of relaxation, when he preferred not being alone, since in that case his mind would be inwardly working. He only wanted to have scope for the outpouring of his free thoughts. I took care to adapt myself to this; for I listened with profound and always loving interest, and asked my questions always in the right direction."

He was at this time a miracle of hard work, continuous study, and patient suffering. Whilst the thoughtless were charging him with neglect, because he was not constantly seen at their doors, he was carrying on in the most systematic manner the great purpose of his life. He never lost an hour; and scarcely ever left an hour to the disposal of circumstances:—

"Only by the greatest punctuality, and economy of time, could Stier accomplish so much, and produce for the benefit of the Church so much in other departments of labor besides

that to which he was directly called as pastor. On his writing-table lay his daily calendar, on the one side of which was marked what he had to do every day, and on the other he briefly noted every evening what he had done. Thus he could after any length of time give account how every day had been spent. Close at hand lay a list of the sick; with a notice in the case of each as to the time when he had been visited. Above his head was a line of books, and among them the quarto volume which he began in Wittenberg, in which the whole exegetical industry of his past life was contained, and into which he duly noted everything of any importance at the appropriate place. He valued these volumes above all else, and said to his wife: 'If the house were ever burnt, this is the first thing that must be saved.' On a little table near lay what the bookseller might have sent for selection, or review, or notice of any kind. When in his calendar we read 'Recreative reading,' this table was found empty."

In 1843 a project was entertained of establishing at Königsberg a new theological seminary; and some eminent men indicated Stier for the directorship, as being the "fittest man in Prussia or Germany, so far as regards philological, theological, practical knowledge of God's Word, and ability to guide the young to its true exposition—to undertake the task of training for the pastorship." For some time negotiations were carried on, which, however, resulted, through his own perhaps unwise propositions, in his name being dropped. This post would have been the happiest possible extrication from a position which became more and more embarrassing. Anonymous letters in the public papers complained unjustly of the want of attention to the individual exactions of his flock; exception was taken to his sermons, especially to the freedom with which he exhibited the faults of Old Testament saints; and, finally, there was something like open rebellion when he substituted exposition of Scripture for the afternoon catechisation. A strange scene took place between him and the "representatives" of the Church:—

"When the sitting was over he returned to his wife, appearing to her to be quite transfigured. When she put her wonder-

ing question, he replied, '*I have borne shame for my Master's sake.*' She said something of the disgrace that his sacrifices for his office and his church should be requited with such ingratitude. Thereupon he said: 'That we must calmly leave with God. If He permits me to be trodden under foot, I must bear it. But *my office they shall leave uninvaded.*'"

But it was invaded. The presbytery (so called) answered a long and calm letter which he sent by demanding that certain alterations should be made, and by repeating their unjust charges. After hearing this he retired and said:—

"I am now determined to resign my office: if I yield to their will I should dishonor it. I will go to Wittenberg, write farther my *Reden Jesu* and what else I have prepared, and so try to reëstablish my health. The Lord will not suffer us to need. I can earn what this office has brought me, and probably more. And when I recover health, they will give me another office. *But I shall be much misunderstood in this step.*"

It were painful to continue these details. The congregation repented, at least the better part, but it was too late. It is pleasant to note that just at this time he received the diploma of Doctor of Theology from the University of Bonn, a very high distinction, and one which, owing to his never having taken a degree in any Theological University, or ever having undergone an examination, could come to him only as a spontaneous acknowledgment of his merit. When the Polyglott was published, a writer in the *Bonn Review* had said: "At length he should have the diploma of a doctor in Holy Writ: what he is *de facto* he should now be *de jure.*" This was the general sentiment; and in 1846 the faculty sent him his degree with a very noble and generous description of his merits. Some sentences of his reply deserve notice, as showing the truth and independence of his nature:—

"I owe it to the kindness and courtesy, thankful to be acknowledged, of a most honorable theological faculty, that the honor and dignity of a theological doctorate has been conferred

on me. To be a servant of the Word of God in the fullest sense, for the Church, and not merely any particular congregation, has been through the grace of God since I first knew Him the highest object of my life in all ecclesiastical and theological activity. But I am conscious of having striven for nothing less than any such academical distinction as I have received, respected sirs, from you. This distinction surprises me as an advent-gift at a time when I am on the point of voluntarily leaving a charge which I could no longer with freedom or conscience hold; and I am thankful for the delicate consideration which has soothed the pain of a resignation of office by the bestowment of a permanent honor. Indeed, I regard it as an approval of the act by which, in order the more firmly to hold fast my general vocation, I have laid down a particular vocation.

"Even if I erred in regard to the choice of the time for this honor, I do not err in considering this diploma as a token that the faculty recognizes the principle of an equally free and decided faith in the Word, such as it has been my humble effort to represent it in the theology of our day. The more at variance my consistently held scriptural loyalty is with the predominant academical theology, the more thankful am I to receive, not as an honor to my person, but as witness to the cause, this neither coveted nor asked honor from the hands of a faculty, which is to be held in the highest estimation as being true, beyond most others, to the unity of the faith. Finally, I cannot conceal from myself or from you, respected sirs, that I do not overvalue the significance, lowered in the course of time, of this high dignity. It is shared now with very many whose teaching is contradictory to its original meaning and its sacred challenge. On the other hand, it is encouraging to reflect that I have been called to the enjoyment of this dignity by a faculty known to be cautious and conscientious in its bestowment. I take, then, this name of Doctor of Holy Scripture in its old and solemn meaning, as from the Evangelical Church and its Lord Himself; and may He more and more consecrate my energies to that work. Long ago I pledged my vow under banner of the Word of God, to the truth by which we are sanctified; this is before

man and God an impulse to a continual and abiding remembrance of that vow, as if I had in the old form literally pledged it."

His parting with the Barmen church was very touching; a multitude of testimonials to his usefulness poured in, and all was done by the penitent people that could be done to show their regard. After this he spent three years of strict retirement in Wittenberg, engaged for the most part in literary labors. Not that he was insensible to the political and ecclesiastical ferment of the time. He was a thorough friend of the union of the Churches—

"He heartily assented when Nitzsch and others, in the General Synod of 1846, sought to devise a method whereby, while nothing essential to evangelical truth was given up, sincere doubters might be conciliated, and the Confession not laid as a yoke upon their neck. The ordination formula there prepared, which many of the clergy too vehemently condemned, had his cordial concurrence. More and more it appeared how much in the *Church idea* he diverged from many with whom he had hitherto worked. While these were always making the outward constitution of the Church emphatic, and sought to fix the forms of ecclesiastical life more and more rigidly, he came to regard the Church as the sphere of the freest and most living communion in faith on the firm foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, *the Scripture*, growing up under the most various forms, through the Spirit of God, towards perfect unity as its final goal."

His writings now began to assume somewhat of a more peaceful and tranquil character. The Epistle to the Ephesians was his constant study; and this "Church epistle" he expounded in the most elaborate and learned of his works—furnishing afterwards an abridgment for popular use. The last chapter of Solomon's Proverbs also he expounded; as also the second portion of Isaiah, with its glorious perspective into the far futurity; and the Epistle of St. Jude. The work on Isaiah is a learned effort, as its title indicates,—"Isaiah not Pseudo-Isaiah,"—to

establish the unity and evangelical harmony of the great prophet. At this time he did considerable service to the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches by some smaller writings, very Catholic and vigorous. His was a peculiar position, almost unknown in our country, that of holding an absolute doctrine of Scriptural inspiration and authority, and with it a considerable laxity as to confessions. But we must abstain from entering into this question. The question is one that belongs to the modern ecclesiastical history of the German Churches. It is a perplexed question; and time only will show how far the union of creeds in some respects so opposite can prosper.

In 1850 Dr. Stier was appointed, by the Consistory at Magdeburg, Deacon of Schkeuditz and Superintendent (quasi Bishop) of the Ephory, containing eight parishes. This was but a poor recognition of twenty years of service, and of such service as his had been: two sermons every Sunday, and two places to serve, and about a hundred and fifty pounds a year. He went with a good heart, but only to find the old conflict under slightly varied forms. It was a wretched district between Leipzig and Halle, much demoralized by smuggling; and once more the *trial sermon* encountered opposition. A protest was got up and sent to the Consistory, complaining that he belonged to that class of preachers who always insisted on "praying and believing," and consigned to destruction those who think differently. The remonstrants disavowed the charge of being ultra-Rationalists, but professed that they preferred as their motto, "pray and work." After warning the new preacher to give up his mysticism, and help his people to use their reason as well as their souls, they consented to the appointment. He labored there for nine years, much blessed to a select few, exceedingly useful in the punctilious discharge of his duties as the general overseer of the district, but never cared for by the community at large. His *Bibelstunden* were especially useful; at first those who desired a more intimate communion in the Word came to his house, but by degrees the Bible-class filled the school-room.

These were years of immense industry, and the work was done under circumstances of much discouragement. Besides the apathy of a large number of the people, he had the draw-

back of a very feeble state of health, and much family affliction. After nine years of earnest duty, episcopal oversight, inspection of schools, constant preaching, and the revision of his works, Stier was compelled to ask for a lighter sphere of labor, and obtained an appointment to Eisleben, the town of Luther, where he spent the remaining three years of a busy life. He found Eisleben a town full of churches, and most interesting associations with Luther and the older Reformers, but without much godliness, and indisposed to public worship. His ministry was not attractive, although to those who were right-hearted his sermons had an indescribable interest—"One was tempted," says a young minister who used to hear him, "to think within oneself, this man seems as if he had not only sat at the feet of apostles and prophets, but listened to the lips of Jesus himself." But his Bible Lectures were valued. One who frequented them gives some notion of their character.

"As a rule he was at his post five minutes before the clock struck, remainiug in silent devotion, while all who assembled involuntarily retired into themselves. Thus we the less missed a first prayer, which he seldom offered. He read aloud the portion to be expounded, using his own corrected edition of the Lutheran Bible. His hearers, so far as regards education, were of all kinds; learned and unlearned, men and women, young people of both sexes, of the higher and lower ranks, though not many of these in proportion. In the first two winters he expounded some select Psalms. In a most masterly manner he disclosed their meaning, specially their fundamental relations for the kingdom of God and of Christ; yet he led us in some Psalms—the eighth, for instance—into heights and depths which made us almost bewildered. Two of the last of these lectures I shall never forget."

Patiently and diligently he sought to correct many abuses in the public services, to build up his little church within the Church, and to discharge the duty of a bishop towards all the churches, and minister to his Ephory or charge.

"'Bible and prayer, earnest study and watchfulness over the inner life,' he used to say, 'is the legitimate way to learn to

preach better. Your generation is happier than ours in the wilderness: you find the heavenly bread without toil. Oh, that our students and candidates may not take things too easily, and draw on their faith like a coat in November." He was very severe on all kinds of verbiage and artifice, all undue ornament, and especially on the new habit of exceedingly artificial and sonorous or rhyming divisions. When one appealed in favor of these to the authority of Ahlfeld, &c., he would say: 'Certainly, an authority—but I may say, by God's grace, that I am one too.'"

Afflictions were multiplied on him. Two of his children were under perpetual visitation, and one died. His own health began to decline more rapidly, and in the beginning of 1862 he prepared for the end. "How precious it is," he said, "that a man should bear the yoke in his age also, however the flesh recoil. About this I could sing a song of lamentation which I will spare you. How good it will be then to rest from labor!" Rallying from a violent hemorrhage, he made a final general visitation, and laid down his scheme for the new ecclesiastical year. He began the Life of our Lord, and preached on the two great annunciations. In his Bible-Lecture he began the Gospel of St. John; having reached the history of Nicodemus, he came to "God so loved the world," &c., and then—but we will quote the writer already referred to:—

"I am sorry that I am no shorthand-writer, and did not write down the exposition of this short verse. With quivering lips and weeping eyes he dwelt on the unfathomable mercy of God which is contained in these words, the kernel of the whole Scripture; he recited one and another touching history which stands in the closest connection with this Jesus-word, and was so entirely mastered by the theme, that the hour ran out before he could reach the other half of the verse. He therefore closed with the promise to speak the following week of the condition on which we become partakers of the grace of Christ, that is, faith. Alas, that much-longed-for Bible-hour never struck."

How this good man ended, his widow shall tell in her own inimitable way; we select, however, only such passages as are suitable:—

"On the forenoon of his last day he prepared for to-morrow's Bible-hour, The love of God. He went with his wife to the new school, where he paused long in silence. Then they passed to the Costle-place, where all the church-towers of Eisleben were visible at once; he solemnly stood still, and prayed for them all and their congregations by name. Returning refreshed, he ascended the stairs and sank down exhausted. He longed for sleep in the easy chair, but the noise in the court awaked him. After attending to many official duties, he retired early to rest, and died at midnight alone and unobserved. In his study was found the preparation for the last Bible-lesson, with the words, 'He that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.' In these words he had unconsciously written his own best epitaph. His works—literary and ministerial—were, if ever man's were, *wrought in God.*

"We had much in him, and in him we have lost much. With lamentation we must say before the Lord—A hero in Israel is fallen! a richly endowed and consecrated instrument in the Lord's hand. We have had, and still have, only few such men of God as he was. It will soon and sadly be found out that he is gone from us, and the lament over his departure will not soon die away. But we must not withhold our thankfulness to God who gave him, and we must cherish the seed that he sowed in the field of God's kingdom: he, one of the most scripturally learned witnesses that the truth unto godliness ever possessed. Of him may be said: The teachers shall shine as stars in the firmament and those who turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

Thus in the name of the churches of his charge did the chief pastor honor his memory.

Stier belonged to that class of theologians to whom there is but one book. Between him and his God there came the holy oracles, representing the one Mediator's will and purpose. To the study and exposition of that book he dedicated his life when his life was renewed from above; and from that one object he never swerved. Perhaps there never was a more single-minded student of the Scriptures. He set out with a theory of

inspiration, or rather a faith in the immediate authority of the Word of God as His living voice, which scarcely left him any alternative. To him, even as a young man, theology meant the Bible, and the Bible theology. Beyond most theologians of his day, he inherited the extreme sentiments of early Lutheranism as to the authority of the Scriptures, and this gave life and warmth to his system of Divine truth. It is, however, a grand subjective theory, based on sublime internal evidence, which cannot always commend itself to scientific criticism, and disdains to be concerned on that account. "I read the canonical text of the Bible as written by the Holy Ghost; but I so read it, not because I have framed for myself beforehand any inspiration-dogma, or have devoted myself as a bond-slave to the old Dogmatic; but because this Word approves itself with ever-increasing force to my reason, which, though not indeed sound, is through the virtue of that Word daily recovering soundness. It is because this living Word in a thousand ways has directed, and is ever directing, my inner being, with all its intelligence, thought, and will, that I have subjected to it the freedom of my whole existence." It may be supposed that, with such a profound conviction, the question of the canonicity of this or that book could trouble him but little. Perhaps he was too indifferent to the external authentication that commends the canonical books to our use, and distinguishes them from the apocryphal. He himself was safe, but his safety was the result of an unusual bestowment of God's Holy Spirit.

His exegetical writings owe their characteristics to a few leading principles. The first is strikingly developed in the preface to the "Discourses of the Lord Jesus:" "Jesus Christ is the first exegete; no man hath seen God at any time; He hath *declared Him.*" And the second is like unto it, viz., that the Spirit of Christ expounds Him to the Apostles and Prophets, to each according to his own peculiarity, yet in such a manner that the result is a more or less evident organism in the construction of the entire Scripture. This led him to an exaggerated and sometimes painful minuteness in the analysis of the longer prophecies and discourses of both Testaments. A third fundamental principle is the recognition of a deeper, larger, fuller meaning everywhere, than lies on the surface: a principal

of unbounded importance, but liable beyond others to perversion. *Tot verba tot sacramenta!* There is no limit and no safeguard, and we are surrendered to our guide's discretion, whether Origen, or Augustine, or Stier. There are not a few instances in which our expositor, like those his predecessors, has gone much astray, especially in his illustrations of the phases of the consubstantiation doctrine. But, generally speaking, our readers owe a large debt of gratitude to Bengel, Olshausen, and Stier, three men who are distinguished among the moderns for making the Redeemer the personal Revealer of His own truth; for insisting upon the analogy of faith, the Divine scheme of redemption, as an element in interpretation, and for exalting the prerogative of the individual Christian to expect the personal guidance of the Divine Spirit in the study of the Word of Christ.

Stier is not a dogmatic divine, in the strictest sense of the term. He enjoyed his liberty to range through the Scriptures, and mark the branches and leaves and flowers and fruit of the glorious tree of theological knowledge, too much to submit with a good grace to the bonds of system and science in Divine things. Yet his catechisms show that in this department also he might have attained eminence. Perhaps in that case his views on the Atonement and the sacraments might have assumed a clearer and less mystical form. As it is, there is no question that his theory of the redeeming death did not do perfect justice to the stern claims of Divine justice, and that his exhibition of the general benefits of Christ's death as designed for the whole creation, and imparted, through the sacrament, to the whole nature of man, is overstrained and almost fanciful. These errors, for such we count them, he holds in common with a large body of Lutheran divines; but in Stier's theology they are based on the letter of Scripture, the letter, however, being most mystically interpreted.

But we must conclude. We have sketched the life and work of a man whose highest praise is that he was zealous for the honor of his Lord, and whom his master honored by the priceless gift of leading inquiring minds into the interior knowledge of the Divine Word, and of helping multitudes to find that that Word is spirit and life.

V.—THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER OF OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE.*

THE volume which we set at the head of this article † is a tractate of less than one hundred pages. It has nothing of the imposing about it, and is far from being a bulky or a verbose production. The writer has not cared to beat out his ore very finely. But the scientific accuracy of the method, the solidity of the matter, and the admirable spirit pervading the whole, give to this little treatise a weight and a value which make its brevity only the subject for regret. The theme which it handles is one of the deepest interest to all students of Scripture at all times, and one, too, which has been brought into more than ordinary prominence by the controversies and discussions agitating the world of religious thought during these most recent years. The author, also, is a teacher whose name deserves to be much more extensively known than it yet seems to be among British scholars. At the time when this essay was published, he occupied one of the Theological chairs at Breslau, and he now holds a position of far greater importance, and far larger influence, as Professor in the University of Tübingen. He labors there as a true colleague and kindred spirit with I. T. Beck, and has long ranked as one of the soundest and most accomplished exegetes in the more orthodox schools of German theology. He is not much given to committing his thoughts to the printer where he can avoid it. So far as we are acquainted with his writings, they consist chiefly of the treatise before us, another of an equally concise and careful character, bearing the title, "*Veteris Testamenti Sententia de rebus post mortem futuris*," and sundry articles of eminent worth in HERZOG'S "*Real-Encyclopädie*," among which may be specified those on the Messias, the Opfercultus, the Priesterthum im Alten Testament, the Volk Gottes, Weissagung, &c. He has written, there-

* From the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, Jan. 1870.

† G. F. OEHLER, *Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testamente*. *Stuttgart*, 1845.

fore, less than we could well have received from his hand. But what he has written repays liberally the student's most thoughtful perusal. His special gift lies in the line of those studies with which these Prologomena deal. Owing much himself to the lectures of CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH SCHMID on the Biblical Theology of the New Testament, and having had his intellectual habits largely molded by the teaching of that distinguished Würtemberg professor, he commenced his own independent studies with the view of taking up the work so well begun by that master, and doing for the Old Testament what he had done for the New. It was as an introduction to that proposed undertaking that these Prolegomena were first published. But the projected Handbook of the Theology of the Old Testament has never been completed, and for whatever other contributions he has made to this branch of sacred learning we must be content to repair to these articles already referred to in HERZOG'S "*Real-Encyclopädie.*" And all who know how competent a judge on questions of Old Testament criticism Professor VON HOFMANN of Erlangen, is, will understand that when he pronounces OEHLER to be the man best gifted for the task among all in the circle of his acquaintance, a loss of no common kind is sustained by students of Scripture through this failure to complete what has been so satisfactorily commenced.

The more immediate object of this paper, it may be well to premise, is not to attempt any elaborate discussion of the various theories of the nature, purpose, and value of Old Testament Scripture, as here surveyed and criticised, and the different principles of interpretation as here investigated. To do so would lead us into too wide a field at present. We wish rather to present some considerations of a more general description, suggested by the perusal of the book, and to deal with some outlying characteristics of the Old Testament writings which seem to be confirmatory of our belief in their divine origin and authority, in so far as they go to prove them to be possessed of features exclusively their own, and to occupy a platform on which they are marked off as a series of writings distinct in kind from the earliest religious records of any other people. First, however, we shall give a short account of the contents of

this tractate for the information of those to whom it may be new. As we have already indicated, then, it is intended to furnish us with an introduction to the study of the Biblical Theology of the Old Testament. And by that study is meant the well defined and important field of inquiry which is known in Germany by the technical name, *Die Biblische Theologie.* That constitutes, in short, the intermediate step between exegesis and dogmatic theology. Its object is to gather up the results of exegetical inquiry, and to present the contents of the books as they bear upon religious knowledge and faith, in their immediate historical connections, and in the actual measure and exact relations in which they entered as elements into the life and belief of the people to whom the records belong, without formulating them into those scientific statements of doctrine or creed which form the subject-matter of dogmatic theology. Our author starts with his definition of this Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, namely, that it is the *historic-genetic presentation of that revealed religion which is contained in the canonical books of the Old Testament.* By the use of this term, *historisch-genetisch*, he points to two things which he deems essential to any adequate conception of what these writings are, and of the spirit in which their interpretation is to be approached. Of these, the first is, that we regard them as the records of a system of religion or religious truth which is of a strictly historical character, embodied in the life of a historical people, and connected and bound up with the events of their career, and the institutes of their polity, in a manner witnessed in the case of no other nation. And the second is, that we regard this system of religion or religious truth, also, as one of a strictly progressive character, unfolded by the guidance of God from one degree of fullness to another, and developed in the course of the divine dealings with the people in successive ages, from the blade to the ear, until it reaches at length the full corn in the ear in that Gospel of the New Testament to which the Old ever looked, and for which it was sustained as an ever-maturing preparation. To exhibit the import and bearings of these pregnant terms, and to substantiate the definition, is then the object of this treatise. With this purpose, the author discusses, first, the proper compass and extent of this study, and its relation

to other Biblical studies; then the proper scientific stand-point for the study; and, finally, the method of the same, and the classification of its parts. Under the first of these three divisions, in which he lays out the treatment of his subject, the sole right of the Canonical books to rank as authoritative materials for the ruling of this branch of theology, and the normative character assignable to them as distinguished from the Apocryphal books and all the products of later Jewish thought, are shortly but clearly vindicated on subjective as well as objective grounds. The theory that the only aim, which those who made up the Canon of the Old Testament had in view, was a merely literary one is also refuted, and ground is shewn for the assertion that in that task they must, from the very nature of the case, have been actuated by something more than the simple desire to preserve the extant remains of Hebrew literature. And further, in defining the relations in which this study stands to other subjects of theological science, such as Archæology, Hebrew History, Old Testament Morality, Dogmatic Theology, and the like, various questions of interest are started, and as we think, in the main satisfactorily answered. Thus the problem as to the sense and measure in which these books are to be regarded and used by the theologian, as offering a system of doctrine is considered. And the position taken is that, while doctrine is there, it is there in many of its elements only in the germ, and that the progressive nature of the revelation which God has given to man precludes our expecting to find on many subjects those precise and full-grown dogmas or enunciations of doctrine in the Old Testament which we look for in the New. And again, the dependence of our judgments of the morality of the Old Testament on our apprehension of its theology in that historical and genitic character which is proper to it, is very forcibly exhibited. For example, we can understand how readily the critic may fix the charge of the harshest cruelty and revengefulness upon many things that meet him in the Old Testament, if he misses the full import of its doctrine of recompense and retaliation.

In discussing, under the second division of this theme, the proper stand-point for the theologian in such inquiries, the author expresses it in a single phrase, as the *Christian Theolog-*

ical. And by this he means that in order to approach the investigation and interpretation of the Old Testament, we must come to it from the position of Christianity, and with an adequate appreciation of its connection with the New. The important question as to the mutual relations of the two Testaments, thus comes into view: and it is well for us to have such precise notions on that subject, as are here indicated. Without firm footing, and clear conceptions on this, the work of the exegete or critic can issue only in a depreciation of one or other of these two great series of writings, which come to us as the records of the revelation of God. For it is quite as easy to err by an undue identification of the two, as it is by their absolute separation. These twain are joined together of God. They front each other, and look into each other's face: the Old Testament glancing forward to the New, and the New glancing backward upon the Old; the former moving steadily onward to the latter as its goal, and the latter confirming the divine right of the former. And yet, though thus one, they are not the less distinct, as the preparation is distinct from the result; as the seed is from the fruit. The religion and the truth of the New Testament are not to be separated, as the Marcionites did, from those of the Old. Nor yet again is the Old Testament so to be identified with the New as that we shall make little of the difference between the Law and the Gospel, or credit the Prophet with the self-same illumination as the Apostle,—a view of the nature of Old Testament Scripture which lies at the root of many of the confusions of Clement and Origen, and the Alexandrian School generally. The true position is that which holds at once their organic connection and their individual distinction; which affirms their unity and denies their uniformity; or, as OEHLER aptly puts it, which maintains their *Einheit* and disavows their *Einerleiheit.*

The most valuable portion of these Prolegomena, is the survey which is taken under the second head of the different views of the Old Testament books which have been held, and the different attitudes in which their interpretation has been approached by the great schools of thought which have been formed from age to age, within and without the Church. The review carries us on from the early Oriental teachers, to the Theologians of the Reformation, and from these to the more recent develop-

ments of enquiry in the Socinian, the Rationalistic, the Supra-Naturalistic and the Pietistic tendencies. The criticisms of different men and schools are in general, very sharply and accurately put, though some things we desiderate, and from others we dissent. Thus we miss all evidence of a right estimate of the position assignable to the scholastic theologians, in the history of Old Testament criticism and exegesis. And, indeed, the whole period, from Augustine up to the Catholic divines immediately antecedent to the Reformation, is passed by with a leap. The judgment passed upon Cocceius, again, may be demurred to as too favorable. It is true that the vagaries of the so-called Cocceian principle, that Scripture *must* mean all that it *may* mean, are fully allowed for. But the author seems to be betrayed by his own high estimate of the value of this principle of the genetic character proper to revelation, into the assigning of more honor than most would be inclined to give to the old Leyden master of the federal theology as an interpreter, when he says, that the recognition of the two-fold covenant between God and man laid some foundation for the recognition of the progressive nature of the revealed religion contained in the Old Testament. Again, the supreme merit of Calvin, as an exegete, is fully admitted, and all justice is done to his erudition, his rare sagacity in philological matters, and his singular freedom from the vice of allegorizing. But we are disposed to think that our author lays too much stress upon a few isolated expressions that meet us in those sections of the *Institutes* which handle the relations of the two Testaments to each other. And he is thus led to put an interpretation, less favorable to Calvin's firm grasp of the proper distinction between the two than is warrantable, upon his fundamental principle that the Old Testament and the New are entirely one in respect of substance and matter, and different only in respect of the *administratio*. With the criticisms passed on the old Socinian theory, that the Old Testament books are possessed only of a historic interest, and are superfluous for the proof of doctrine, on the bold, colorless objectivity of the method followed by the English opponents of Deism, such as Warburton, Shackford and others, and on the great advance made by Luther upon the interpretative principles current among Catholic theologians before the Reforma-

tion, most will agree. We cannot follow the author through the stretch he gives of the rise and gradual march of truer conceptions of the theology of the Old Testament, first in their cruder form, in the case of such men as Gabler and Bauer, in whom the one Testament is still too sharply sundered from the other, then in the fresh impetus given them by the efforts of men nearer the line of orthodoxy, as Herder and DeWette, and and finally in the shape into which they have been gradually molded by the hands of Steudel, Hengstenberg, Menken, Hofmann, Meyer, Stier and others. Neither can we stay to examine the outline given of the influence exercised upon the study of the theology of the Old Testament, through the prosecution of the History of Religion by Creuzer, Buttmann, and their compeers, who took up the task begun by Spencer, or through that of the Philosophy of Religion, as handled by Kant, Hegel and others. It will be enough to say, that the criticisms of these many different schools of religious inquiry, are as fairly as they are clearly and precisely expressed. And we may particularize, as specially worthy of attention, the review of the defects attaching to those conceptions of Old Testament Scripture and its interpretation, which comes nearest the truth, and yet err in an exaggerated supranaturalism, as seen in the school of Hengstenberg, or in an exclusively dogmatic attitude, as in Storr, or in an undue subordination of the scientific to the practical, tending to the mystic or pietistic estimate of the records of revelation, as we can trace it not unfrequently, in the expositions of Rudolf Stier. With most of what is laid down on these matters, we agree, and with the result to which he comes, we are, of course, perfectly at one, namely, that the Old Testament Scripture, as organically bound up with the New, must be approached from the stand-point of a Christian theology.

Of the last of those three heads, which mark the plan of these Prolegomena, we need say nothing beyond noticing that the whole field of Old Testament religion and theology is laid out in the three broad sections of Mosaism, Prophetism and Hebraism, corresponding in a general way with the three-fold division of the Canon into Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa.

We simply remark, that the opinions pronounced as to the

exact niches which these several books seem designed to occupy in the organic whole of revelation, and the relations in which they stand to each other, and the great ideas which constitute the burden of each, will be found helpful to the attaining of more adequate and comprehensive views of the inner and divinely wrought unity of all canonical Scripture. And having given this rapid narrative of the leading discussions and main principles with which the book deals, we should have done enough to show its interest, and to commend it to the perusal of those versed in matters of Old Testament criticism and interpretation.

We proceed now, therefore, to state some general considerations on the subject of Old Testament Scripture, which a survey of the history of theological opinion suggests. We have not to attempt any formal proof of the Divine origin and authority of these writings. They have their signature in the New Testament, for Christ Himself sets His seal upon them. But we wish to point out certain features peculiarly characteristic of these books, which show this at least, that they cannot be classed with the early religious records of other nations, but occupy a position entirely their own. And such considerations as seem valid for marking out a distinctive standing for these books among the sacred writings of other peoples, will avail also to deepen our conviction of the insufficiency of a theory of their meaning and value now most current in more than one section of the world of speculation.

As even the concise outline given in this little treatise indicates, it is, then, a very devious career that the history of opinion has run on the subject of the worth and character of the Old Testament Scriptures. They appear to have been carried well-nigh across all the possible lines of divergent estimation. And sometimes in the course of speculative inquiry, we see judgments meet, which are more directly the opposites of each other than is the case even with the most contradictory criticisms of the New Testament. We need mention no more curious concurrence of this kind than what we light upon toward the beginning of the Christian era, where we find the Talmudists so magnifying the fictitious sanctity which they attached to these Scriptures, as to teach that they had always been in

God's bosom, as they phrased it, whereas the New Testament books were nothing but an excrescence from them: while we mark side by side with that, the position held so strenuously by various of the Gnostic sects, that the Old Testament was the production of the Principle of Evil, and that the New could be lifted to its proper platform of elevation and purity only by the disavowal of the identity of the God of the one with the Jehovah of the other. In our own time, however, the development of German criticism, in its more unregulated action, may be said to have issued, in the main, in the formation of two great schools which present a destructive attitude toward the Church's proper estimate of Old Testament Scripture. Of these, the one divests it of all strict historic credibility, and resolves it into a collection of Hebrew myths; and the other, while allowing it more or less historic value, regards it still as nothing more than the natural product of the best spirits of the most religious nation of antiquity. On the one hand, the attempt is thus made to prove it to be but a series of popular beliefs that grew up gradually around the memory of characters distinguished in the distant past of Israelitish history; and on the other, while its trustworthiness, as matter of fact, is in general terms admitted, it is pronounced to be simply the creation of the religious sentiments, and the index of the religious ideas of one remarkable people. It is in the face of views like these that the Christian is called upon once more to look fairly into the question as to the exact relation which these books bear to him and his faith, and to test and make good anew his old convictions on their value and authority. And certainly the problems and inquiries which emerge in connection with these movements in the sphere of speculation, are not such as either the Church or the educated individual can safely pass by. For in present times, as in past, it is seen that the assault on the Old Testament, and its character and institutions, forms but the prelude to a similar attack upon the New, so that what comes to be at stake is not simply our possession of so much the more or the less of what we have been accustomed to prize as the revelation of God, but our faith in the Gospel itself. Of these two schools of opinion to which we have referred, the former, though it still shows some signs of life among ourselves, may be said to be greatly on

the decline. And assuredly, a very cursory review of the vagaries of that style of sacred criticism will justify the assertion that if there are difficulties enough in the explanation of not a few things in the Old Testament to those who accept it as historically true, and as bearing a divine impress, these difficulties are greater to him who will explain it merely as a common religious literature, and are vastly greater still to the man who thinks to resolve it into a cycle of myths naturally formed, and gradually nurtured by the national vanity of the Jewish people. Just as on the one hand, the extremists among the learned on the side of orthodoxy are now well nigh giving up the notion that the genesis of heathen myths can be referred at once and directly to the Jewish histories, or that the growth of the stories of Iphigenia, Idomeneus, Hercules, and the like among the Greeks, can be explained on the ground that they were mere borrowings from the Old Testament narratives of Jephthah and Samson, and the rest; so on the other hand, the extreme rationalists are now beginning to acknowledge the fact that these latter narratives, from their peculiar place in the life and character of the Hebrew nation, cannot be adequately accounted for by the easy hypothesis that they are only myths like the former. It is consequently the second of these two schools which have been mentioned, that holds the preëminence at present. And it is not to be concealed that it is likely to exert a strong influence over certain classes for an indefinite period. For it has very special attractions to those who make culture the great end of life, through the literary refinement and the delicate intellectual appreciation which largely distinguish its inquiries.

In their conception of what Old Testament Scripture is, the adherents of this school certainly fall far short of the complete truth. But while we hold fast by that, let us none the less freely acknowledge that we have much to learn from their researches and their method. Applied to the Old Testament, as the record of the national and religious life of the Jews, their erudite labors have unquestionably furnished us with much valuable material for our use, and have opened up tracts of new inquiry, which offer a goodly fruit for the illustration of the sacred narratives. When the masters in this school speak of the Jewish history as the *sacred* history, they mean some-

thing different indeed from what we plead for and hold by. Yet they have done much real service in the elucidation of that same history. With them, these books are, in their highest definition, the historic, poetic, and devotional monuments of one among the many nations of the world,—a strange Eastern people who, springing from a chief of the Arabian deserts and "cribbed, cabined and confined," within the narrow limits of a hilly district of Syria, have yet had the peculiar glory of maintaining, in the center of gross surrounding polytheisms, and at a time when even the most enlightened minds in other lands had reached only a wavering abstract pantheism, the pure belief in God's unity, personality, and spirituality,—who have also, notwithstanding almost uninterrupted national disaster, exercised such an influence upon the world as gives the key to the understanding of much of the deepest life of the nations, and who even still, in their scattered remains, with strangers in their heritage, and aliens in possession of their altars, exhibit the unique spectacle of a people endowed with an unquenchable conviction of their peculiar mission, and fired with an undying confidence in their coming restitution. This is something like the highest meed of honor these teachers will ascribe to those writings which they unite with us in designating the *sacred* history. Yet in insisting, as they have done, upon the Scripture as the product and witness of the national and religious life of the Hebrews, they have, without question, cast some light at least on the *human* aspects of revelation, and have made some important contributions to the exposition of certain significant characteristics of the history and the economy never before adequately appreciated. To such exegetes as Ewald, notwithstanding all deflections, simple justice cannot deny some tribute of gratitude. But that their theory, even taken at its highest, misses the real truth as to the value of Old Testament Scripture, and fails to satisfy the conditions of the case when it is presented as a problem in history, is shown clearly enough by many facts that lie on the very face of the question.

For, in the first place, this theory fails to account for what is most peculiar to these books in their import to the Christian. In the very circumstance that these records have attained, or rather, have asserted for themselves, so unique an importance

in the Christian Church, and so significant a relation to the most vital convictions of the Christian believer, there is something which, when fairly considered, is at once suggestive of a deep and holy meaning assignable to them, which cannot be claimed for any other memorials of ancient literature. An argument from experience and history is certainly something short of demonstration, but is still valid as an argument when rightly regulated. And the history of the past, and the experience of the present, testify plainly to the fact, that for the Christian, just as a Christian, these books possess an inherent interest, and have a secret and most intimate association with his most devout experiences. They breath a spiritual air which makes us feel as if we had passed into a different atmosphere when our minds turn to them from the study of other antique religious literatures. They carry with them a *spiritual suggestiveness* which we find only in themselves. "Thoughts rise," it has been admirably expressed,* "as we read, which haunt us like the hidden signs of the Platonic *ἀνάμνησις*." These stories of the Old Testament, which form the first nurture of our minds in our childhood, never lose their charm to those who preserve the free, serious spirit of early years. They have never been, even to the rarest intellects among God's saints, tales that lose their spell when youth's unquestioning fancy gives place to manhood's reflective judgment.. And he who bids us believe that they are pretty fables which we shall put aside with our nursery-rhymes, or old-world narratives, which may amuse or instruct us, like the histories of Greece or Rome, must be prepared to meet, at the very outset, an obstacle to his success which he will be fain to overlook, but which lies, nevertheless, not in vulgar prejudice or uneducated perceptions, but in deep moral conviction, and in a personal experience of a real power with which these are invested to approve themselves to the heart of mature, no less than of boyish age. The simplest reflection on the nature of that hold, which these records keep upon our minds in their most subdued and serious moods, shows at least that the stories of Joseph, and Moses, and Samuel, and David,—of the vision at Bethel, the passage of the Red Sea, the view from Pisgah, the capture of the Ark and

* Hannah's Bampton Lectures, p. 110.

such like,—have a profound moral instructiveness and power essentially different from the almost exclusively intellectual and æsthetic influences put forth by the tales even of the deeds of Hector, Ulysses and Achilles, and "the siege of Troy divine." In speaking of some of these narratives, Paul (1 Cor. 10, 6. 11) says that they happened typically or as types, by way of figure, or model, or pattern to us. And what he meant by that description of their purpose is verified in the experience of collective Christianity. So closely bound up have they ever been with our Christian faith, and so firmly have they struck their roots in what is deepest in our Christian life, that the whole history of this ancient people has become one great type or ensample to us; and in their varied career,—in their captivities and deliverances, their rebellions and repentings, their weary sojourn in the desert, and their yet hopeful march toward the land of promise,—we read the outline of Christian experience in the Church and in the individual, and the model or likeness for the guidance of our own course. Nay, so subtle is the bond of connection between these old histories and our best Christian life and thought, that those terms which we most frequently employ for the expression of our religious ideas and feelings are borrowed so silently and instinctively from them, that, when we speak of our "redemption," our "calling and election," our "Zion," "the house of God," "the heavenly Jerusalem," "the Israel of God," and a multitude of similar phrases, we forget, indeed, that we are clothing our meaning in terms steeped in the faith and history which form the peculiar contents of the Old Testament. We have spoken only of the peculiar import of these records to the *Christian*. But may we not extend the remark to the *man?* Is there not a voice in them that makes itself heard in the heart of man as such, and calls out thence an echo to answer it? Tertullian used to speak of the soul of man as *naturally Christian*, and delighted in dilating on the *testimonia animæ naturaliter Christianæ*. And if there is an inner witness to the gospel, is there not the same to the law? If there is something in the gospels and epistles that strikes secret spiritual chords in the heart of man, is there not something that does the same in the Psalms and the Prophets? No mean apologetic for Old Testament Scripture

might be reared on the power of appeal which it carries to the soul of man, and on its correspondence with some of the profoundest necessities, and most significant experiences, and most imperative postulates of our nature. To how many of the deep things of God within these minds and consciences of ours does it appeal? How instinctively do men turn to the Old Testament in certain stages of religious conviction? How often is it some word from these books that *finds us*, as Coleridge was wont to say, in certain phases of our spiritual life. How exactly does it meet, for instance, the experience, which in its own time visits us, of the inner legal spirit, the felt sense of a life within us, which at once divines the severity and burden of the law and the cheerlessness of the legal mind, and breaks with the longing therewith connected after a cleansing of the heart and conscience. Luther, above most men, was familiar with this experience; and if there is one service which he, above others, has discharged toward a right appreciation of Old Testament Scripture, it is in fathoming and expounding its peculiar power to respond to such experiences. This is so well expressed by Oehler, that we shall quote a sentence or two. "For all," he says, "that relates in the Old Testament to that antithesis, Luther has opened the understanding as none other has done. And whosoever desires to apprehend what the Old Testament has to testify, in doctrine and history, of the severity of the law and judgment of God, of the curse of sin and the comfortlessness of a life without God, but also at the same time of the longing for the forgiveness of sins and the purging of the heart, and of the faith in the promises of God, has the best help for that object in Luther's writings, and especially in his exposition of the Psalms, which surpasses many more recent interpretations and expositions that partly misapprehend and partly reduce to the common place what is essential in Old Testament piety. And if it is true that the Old Testament, as a whole, exhibits this wondrous correspondence with the soul's wants and experiences, it is true preëminently of the Psalms which have been taken up as the book of devotion for all ages, in which each man in his own day reads out the language most applicable to his own position, and in which there are notes attuned to harmonize with all the varied music of the deep heart

of man, whether it sounds to hope or to fear, to the sense of sin or the joy of remission, to the terror of the law or the comforts of grace, to gladness or sorrow, to unrest or peace. And in all this is there not something which is left unaccounted for by the theory that these Old Testament writings are in nothing distinguished essentially from the religious books of other nations? In this peculiar relation borne to the man and to the Christian, in this inner and profound connection with the life that stirs most deeply within us, in this power of spiritual suggestiveness, in this capacity of appeal to the soul's most proper wants and experiences, should we not recognize considerations pointing us on to the conclusion that this, at least, was no common people, and that these are no common records?

In a similar way, the appreciation even of the more outward characteristics of these writings leads us to the same issue. We see this, for example, in various peculiarities that shew themselves in the history which is recorded. For if one reads these books with due care, and gathers up thoughtfully the outstanding features of the history there given of the people, and their beliefs, life and institutes, he can scarce fail to acknowledge a complete difference between these and any other national literature with which he may be familiar. We shall see that whatever may be the ultimate explanation given of the fact, this cannot fairly be called a secular literature in the same sense as others. It is indeed a history, and it is therefore, in so far the product of the life and genius of the people, as it consists of a variety of writings composed by authors belonging to the nation, who lived at different periods, and wrote at the call of different necessities or impulses. But if these histories of the Hebrews be compared with those, *e. g.*, of Greece and Rome, this broad distinction becomes apparent, that while the latter are completely permeated by a simply *national* spirit, by the glorification of their own people, and the magnifying of their own achievements, the former breathe a purely *religious* spirit, which assigns the honor of even their grandest national triumphs, not to their own genius or prowess, but at once to the wisdom and hand of God. "The Israelite annals," it has been well remarked,* "unlike the records of any other nation, in ancient

* Stanley's "*Lectures on the Jewish Church*," 1st series, p. 117.

or modern times, which has thrown off the yoke of slavery, claim no merit, no victory of their own. There is no Marathon, no Regillus, no Tours, no Morgarten. All is from above, nothing from themselves." Even the accounts of their most splendid successes in arms contain no note of a merely military triumph. In the capture of Jericho, the battle of Bethhoron, the victories of Gideon, and Barak, and David, it is the right hand of the Lord that doeth valiantly. Even on that day when the waters of the Red Sea were divided before them, that day which Dean Stanley fitly designates as "the birth-day of the religion, of the liberty, of the nation, of Israel," it is Jehovah that triumphed gloriously, and cast the horses and the riders of Egypt into the sea. And in the songs of Miriam and Deborah, it is Jehovah that is praised as conquerer and deliverer, and through all the dangers and conflicts of the wilderness, it is the Lord "that led his people like sheep by the hand of Moses and Aaron." Everything is looked at here in its immediate relation to God. The very land takes its name from the promise of God, its mountains are the hills of God, its streams are the rivers of God. This is a feature of their history which stands out so boldly as to arrest the attention of students of very different tendencies. Even Herder* recognizes it, and acknowledges its unique nature thus: "In the history of other nations there are indications that they designated here and there a small piece of their soil as made sacred by the presence of their God; but I know no people, whose poetry, like theirs, has made the poverty of their country exhibit the fullness of God, and consecrated its narrow limits as a theater for displaying the majesty of Jehovah." And so, again side by side with this sinking of the merely national spirit in the religious, we observe also a similar overpassing of the local into the universal. For as the achievements and events recorded in this history differ from those of other nations in being all carried up directly to God's will and God's glory, so the religion embodied in it differs from that of other nations in passing beyond the people and the country. The religions of other ancient nationalities are bound up with the soil, and neither they nor their records can be understood, in what is most peculiar to them, without some

* *Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry*, by Marsh, I, p. 236.

knowledge of those national and territorial circumstances, in the midst of which they have had their growth. But the reverse is the case with the religion and religious record of the Hebrews. And this constitutes another marked difference between the two, that that very religion which is most exclusive in respect of the demands it makes for supremacy and in the hostile aspect it wears towards all other forms, is just the only one that is in the truest sense universal and independent of all mere local relations and peculiarities of soil or geographical position. And once more, with respect to the history, both national and religious, contained in these writings, we have to remember that the picture it gives of the people is the very opposite of what might naturally have been expected. On the supposition that these were either a series of myths, or a collection of the natural products of the literary genius and religious sentiments of the nation, what sort of history should we naturally look for in them? Should we not expect to find something resembling what is actually found in other nations;—a history flattering the national vanity, eulogistic of the national character, and encircling the founders and heroes of the race with a halo of dazzling marvels? And how different is the case with these Hebrew records! How simple and modest is the account given of the great progenitors of the people, Abraham and the patriarchs. The *poetic* aim which is seen glancing through the accounts of battles and victories, and travels and voyages, in other early literatures is not seen here. Instead of that, we discover that the magnifying of God and the reference of all the path of their history to Him are the cords that run through and bind together the records of this nation. And how unfavorable, again, is the view given of the people themselves. It shows many things in which they might have gloried,—but it shows how in most this glory was turned to shame. It is a mirror of their shortcomings, their rebellions, their stiffness of neck, their blindness, and their sin. It is a book for their condemnation. It is a history, not flattering, but offending the national feelings, not grateful, but repugnant to mere national prejudices, and unlike the first literary products of other nations in the predominantly unfavorable representation it gives of the people to whom it belongs. And in all this again, do we not see some-

thing only very partially accounted for by that theory which we contest? And in such outlying characteristics as these, do we not find at least the presumption of a unique and divine purpose in these books and this history?

And this presumption that these writings must be something more than the product of the most religious genius among the nations of antiquity, will be strengthened by a minute examination of their contents. For by this their distinctive character will be yet more impressively evinced. There are two things that chiefly merit our attention here. And they are those to which we have seen Oehler refer in the choice of the term *historisch-genetisch*, to express the nature of the religious revelation contained in the Old Testament books. These two things, its *historical* and its *genetic* or *progressive* character, are perhaps the notes which, in our present point of view, most distinctly and decisively individualize it and its records, and assert for them a standing exclusively their own. Of these, therefore, we shall also make some mention, though it must necessarily be in the way of cursory indication rather than of ample discussion. Now in the closer and more penetrating examination of these writings, taken as a whole, and considered as the memorials of Hebrew life and religion, the first thing, perhaps, that strikes the student as peculiar to them, is the circumstance, that, in a method unseen in other antique literatures, the whole narrative of the fortunes of the people is carried up to great divine purposes, while all the purely moral and religious truth enunciated is in like manner bound up in the most intimate way with the events, deeds, and institutions of the history. The Old Testament gives neither a simple narrative of national arrangements and occurrences, nor a precise and clearly-cut system of doctrinal teaching. The religious consciousness of the Israelite, as we decipher it here, shews itself neither in a compact body of beliefs, nor in the shape of dogmatic teaching, nor in any system of pure, speculative thought, but in and through a *history*, that is to say, in and through a series of dispensations befalling the nation, in a set of institutions peculiar to it, and in events, appointments and deliverances, which met them from time to time in their national course, and in which they believed they could clearly trace the hand of God.

We cannot separate here the history of the people, or the record of their outward career, from the facts of their religious faith; neither can we frame their religious beliefs into a didactic theology apart from the facts of their history. Indeed, so little does the Old Testament offer of the *abstract* doctrine of faith and morals; so little does it lay that before us in the form of direct and explicit annunciation, that on this very ground, the philosophy of Kant denied altogether the applicability of the name of *religion* to the Mosaic system. The religious beliefs and sentiments here expressed are not presented as growing up outside, and independently of the national fortunes and institutions of Israel, but as determined, maintained, and developed in, and by means of, the numerous appointments of a theocratic constitution, and in and through a series of deeds and dispensations believed to bear the impress of the immediate hand of God. In perfect harmony with this are, for example, the whole contents of their poetry. Its spirit expresses itself always in terms of this fact. It is as statutes, and judgments, and testimonies, that the divine will presents itself to their spiritual perceptions; it is as the ways of God and his ordinances that they ever speak of holiness; it is as an objective law, given to Moses amid the thunderings and lightnings of Sinai, that they most habitually conceive of religious truth; it is for the peace of a historical Jerusalem and the turning again of the captivity of a Zion that they offer their prayers and thanksgivings; it is in that great initial deliverance by which God brought them out of the house of bondage, and made the waters stand as heaps until His people should pass to the land of liberty, that their most solemn vows, their holiest convictions, and their deepest piety are seen ever to center; and the God of their salvation whom they worship and magnify in all, is no abstract divinity, no God of the mere fancy or speculation, no remote deity of philosophy, but the "Shepherd of Israel" that "led Joseph like a flock," and "sent a plentiful rain to confirm his inheritance when it was weary." It is of course true that to a certain extent the religious consciousness of other nations also, has a real connection with their history. We cannot say that its only medium in the case of all others is found in their mythologies. It does also stand to a certain measure in a real union with their histo-

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ries, in so far as great crises in the history of nations usually produce some effect upon, and leave some memorial in the articles and institutions of their faith. But the peculiarity that distinguishes the religious consciousness which expresses itself in the Old Testament from that which shows itself in the literary monuments of other peoples, is its *exclusively* and *continuously* historical character. Israel's faith is one bound up with, and realized in the total sum of the events of their career and the institutions of their theocracy, and neither in mere broken sections of their history nor in myths. And further, their religion, as witnessed to in these books, is of a *genetic* as well as historic nature. Those facts in which their religious consciousness and faith express themselves, and with which they are so vitally connected, present an unexampled *continuity*. They constitute such an unbroken, progressive series, as can be traced through the whole compass of the Old Testament, all the parts of which exhibit such relations to each other, that each step may be seen to stand in a real unity with the past history, and to carry at the same time a prospective reference to a great future event which was to bring the history and the religion of Israel to their consummation, to wit, the advent of Messias, and the establishment of his Kingdom. To exhibit in any fullness, the truth and the import of this fact, would require a larger application of the method of historic criticism than is possible to us at present. But we may safely allege, at least, that a history of this nature, one connected and progressive in this sense—one both unified and carried on to its issue by that ever-present and ever-brightening conviction of "one far-off divine event," in which it was to reach its end, is discovered in no other national literature.

And it is the recognition of this fact that forms one of the most indispensable conditions to a right appreciation of Old Testament Scripture in its unity. It arrests the attention even of Goethe and Herder, and others who occupy their stand-point. And its relations and applications are most various. It is not a thread that runs through but one portion of the contents of these records. It pervades and unifies the whole and every part. We can trace this genetic principle, this gradual development, in all that is recorded: first, in the revelation of the divine economy of redemption itself; secondly, in the growth

of the religious knowledge of the people; and thirdly, in the deepening of their religious character. We see the divine promise gradually widening and brightening from its first enigmatic annunciation, on through the history of Abraham and the patriarchs, and Moses, and David, and the Prophets, until it expands into the clear proclamation of the Messias, whose coming was to be heralded by the voice of His forerunner in the wilderness. We see in like manner God made known to the people as *Elohim*, in the character of his almighty power, and then as *Jehovah* in the further unveiling of His name as the Self-existent and Eternal, supplementing the revelation of the *Deity* with the deeper revelation of the *God of Redemption*, and once again in the kingly period, pre-eminently as the *Lord of Hosts*. And parallel with this we can trace also the education of the mind of the true Israel from its first untutored type, on through the severe schooling of the law, and the higher teachings of the line of prophets, to deeper views of God's moral character, and of the spiritual import of his covenant and commandments. And this progression we can follow, not only through the historic, but also through the prophetic books. And these latter, indeed, exhibit it most particularly in a light which brings to view the shortcoming of that school of literary criticism which we have been mainly discussing. For how does the case present itself here? We meet here a line of preachers extending over several centuries, from Joel to Malachi, connected with very different crises in Jewish history, with the troubles antecedent to the captivity, as in the case of Joel and others, with the duration of the captivity itself, as in Ezekiel and Daniel, and with the period of the return, as in Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and yet all teaching consistently the great lessons of the spirituality of God's law, and at the same time, adding each some distinctive line, correspondent with the nature of the emergency that occasioned his prophecy, to the great and ever harmonious image of Messianic hope. And in this, certainly, we have a phenomenon unexampled in other nations. For assuredly no other presents the spectacle of such a procession of religious teachers, gifted each with a spiritual insight deeper than that of Socrates, falling each into his own proper place in the course of a connected and progressive system

of religion and religious doctrine and history, and uttering explicit predictions, and enunciating religious truths, which the known condition of the Jewish nation makes it simply impossible for us to account for as the common products of the religious intellect and genius of the people. Enough, however, has been said to show that this historic-genetic character of the religion contained in these writings, marks them off as something unique among all the early literatures and religious records of the nations.

We must add, that the uses of this principle are most manifold. It is this conception of the historical and progressive nature of the religion of Israel, and the inner and essential connection of this faith with their history, that gives the theologian and the critic the proper stand-point for judging the contents of Old Testament Scripture in many applications. Thus, if we compare what is given in it as its theology with what is offered as such in the classic literature, for instance, this at once points us to the radical difference between the two. For the one theology is seen to stand in dependence upon a history, and the other in dependence on a mythology; the one appearing in association with the actual matters that made up the national life and career of the people, and the other in an association with matters lying mainly outside these. The recognition of this distinctive characteristic also makes plain to us how greatly those mistake the true scope of the Old Testament books who would keep the religious truth at the expense of the historic. For it shews us how impossible it is to allow value for the one without allowing the same for the other, or to regard the so-called history as the mere outer shell or poetic covering which we must strip off in order to reach the doctrine it envelopes. It is from this same point of view again that we rise to an adequate *definition* of Old Testament Scripture. For, thus recognizing these books as the records of the method in which, by special dealings, manifestations, and institutions, forming a united and advancing series, God gave witness of Himself to the people chosen to stand in a special covenant relation to Him, we perceive at once that they cannot be rightly understood without due appreciation of the peculiar position of that people,—a position, the peculiarity of which consists mainly in the fact

that it was out of this nation that the Christian religion and church were to issue. Then further recognizing this people as the people in whom the true education of the world was given, —that education which, in contrast with the more negative tutoring seen in heathenism, formed the positive preparation for the fullness of the times of Christ, we are led to judge of the Old Testament Scriptures as the records of that unique nation in which the counsel of God for the recovery of man was gradually brought to light and carried on to its completion in the advent of Christ. We conclude thus with Oehler, "that the theologian or critic cannot rightly appproach them except from the standpoint of Christianity and the New Testament." And we see that to this extent, at least, we must supplement the definition offered by the second of these two schools to which we have been referring. It is in this way also that we shall best understand how true and how pregnant is the principle that the Old Testament is one long type of Christ,—a fact so manifest to the unprejudiced eye, that men like DeWette, who began their critical labors from a rationalistic point of view, have fully acknowledged it before their career has closed. And once more it is only this same conception of the distinctive character of Old Testament Scripture that sets in their proper light many of those circumstances which from the earliest times have been, more or less, moral and intellectual difficulties to the Christian student. For it is of essential importance to remember that these Old Testament books, though forming one organic whole, are also a collection of many diverse documents, separated from each other in date, some of them by centuries, and the first and last of them by above one thousand years, that they give the history of a nation which we see grow up from its infancy and pass on to its decline, and that the religious truth which they record is given in a development consonant with the advancing history of the people who were made the medium of its communication. Thus shall we best understand in what sense the whole Jewish religion is incomplete and preparatory, how each stage in the evolution of the economy of redemption, in the law and in the prophets, is in harmony with the then condition of the people, and how the absence of explicit presentations of the doctrine of the future life and judgment and

of the duty of prayer and such matters in the law, is to be explained. Thus, too, by looking at them in the light of their proper historic connection with the religious schooling of the people, we may best read off the true import of such narratives as those of the destruction of the Canaanites and the death of Sisera. And from the same stand-point we may come nearest a right apprehension of the intent to which the events and heroes of Old Testament story are meant to be types for us, and a due appreciation of the instruction to be derived from such mixed characters as Jephthah, Samson, and Phinehas, and a proper grasp of the principles on which we are to judge such other apparent difficulties as the imprecations which meet us now and again in the midst of the deepest devotions of the Psalms.

And on the whole, while this conception of Old Testament Scripture is the only one that gives us the key to the right understanding of many of its details, it also gives us the most impressive view of the marvellous identity that marks it in the widest diversity. When perplexed with minute criticisms, and shown here and there what is called a contradiction, it is good to fall back upon the thought of its unparalleled unity and consistency,—a unity which becomes ever the more wondrous, as by patient study we reach a fuller knowledge of the varied contents of the books and the peculiar circumstances of their respective compositions. The more accurate the comprehension we attain of the different periods to which they belong, the different styles of literatures in which they are cast, and the great variety, both in character and in position, of the writers from whom they proceed,—writers taken, some of them from the courts of princes and some from the altars of priests, some from following the flocks and herds and some from the gathering of sycamore fruit, some from among the kings of Judah and some from the captives that wept by the rivers of Babylon, some of them rich in the lore of Egypt and the wisdom of the scribes, and some who were neither prophets nor prophet's sons,—and the more fully we grasp the consistency with which all these, while announcing special lessons suited to the changing crises of their nation's history, proclaim the same spiritual truths and carry out regularly and progressively the

same doctrine of a Messiah to come,—the more insignificant surely will the alleged contrarieties and inconsistencies of the Old Testament appear, and the more marvellous and peculiar the grand unity in truth and purpose which pervades it from Genesis to Malachi. When we once catch the precious thread that runs through its whole extent, and grasp the clue which guides us through the difficulties of its parts, the patient survey of the parts opens to us the wider view of its organic unity. And in the truths which we see it constantly teach, and in the collective spirit which it breathes, we find the most satisfying evidence that the mind of God has ruled its formation, so that it might be authoritative and useful for doctrine, for reproof, and for instruction to his Church in all ages.

Under the somewhat indefinite title given to this paper we have not sought to deal with any of those minuter and more delicate criticisms which are at present engaging the attention of those whose studies are directed to the Old Testament. We have simply taken up certain more general facts and considerations bearing on those documents which the Christian world has been wont to venerate as one half of the authentic revelation of God to man. These, we think, all combine to claim for the Old Testament a unique position and a distinctive character which make it impossible to regard it as but parallel to the religious records of other nationalities. The investigation of these writings has at this time an almost unprecedented importance; on the one hand, because fields of inquiry little wrought before have been opened up in Jewish history; and on the other hand, because opinions judged by the church to be erroneous and fatal to the proper value of the Old Testament have again obtained extensive circulation among certain classes of the learned. The study of this latter fact also, simply as a literary phenomenon,—as a fact in the history of the human intellect which must have had an adequate cause,—and the attempt to trace out that cause to which it owes its immediate appearance on the stage of speculative opinion, are exercises replete with warning as well as instruction. One lesson which they clearly offer us is this, that it is always unsafe for the church to rest on the simple assertion of her convictions, to the neglect of the cultivation of a liberal theological and critical learning. If

the history of opinion establishes any great principle, it is this, that error commonly has its origin in the exclusive or exaggerated presentation of some special element in the truth which has been comparatively overlooked. And so the survey of the course which recent speculation on the Old Testament has run teaches us this, that to some extent at least, the ebb of religious erudition has been the cause of the flood of religious error, that the views which the church has now to combat contain kernels of truth that have not yet been sufficiently regarded, and that while she is lifeless, unless she be the salt of the earth and the light of the world in the fulfilment of her spiritual mission, she is also in a position neither secure nor worthy, if those inquiries into her documents and beliefs, which should fall within her own proper field, are left to grow up without her, and in that very circumstance to assume a hostile attitude towards her. But the review of recent speculation on the Old Testament is also fitted to impress on us this other important lesson, that the learning which the church is to prosecute and encourage should be, while in all respects thorough, a *religious* learning in the best sense of the phrase, and that the greatest danger to be feared in all critical examinations of Scripture lies in the merely *literary* handling of the same. It holds good of the Bible above all other books, that to understand it in its parts we must understand it as a whole. And to understand it as a whole, the first requisite,—a requisite which takes precedence even of the commanding intellect and the capacious erudition,—is the sympathetic spirit. This is true indeed of all studies. Thus, in art, none will dispute that he who does not know the intuitive, subtle, spiritual power of beauty, he whose mind has not been, as it were, baptised into her ethereal essence, will be likely to form, however minute his acquaintance may be with technicalities and formal principles, an unreliable, because an unappreciative, critic. But of sacred criticism it holds good in a very special sense, that our whole conception and understanding of Scripture must be modified in the very foundation, if we approach it without the spirit proper to it. For by Scripture we mean this among other things,—a body of writings which are at once the mirror of holiness and the media by which God and Christ bear witness of themselves to the church. Con-

sequently, in order to appreciate it we must have the experience of the inner witness of God and Christ in our own hearts; and in particular, in order to value and understand the Old Testament aright, we must be able to view it in the power of that connection in which it stands, historically with the New Testament, and experimentally with the spirit of our own Christianity. He therefore who comes to the study of the Hebrew or the Christian Scriptures as a mere *litterateur*, and pronounces upon the worth and import of these documents without regard to the personal knowledge of that faith of which they profess to be the records, enters upon his task unfurnished with that arm which, from the very nature of the case proposed, is the initial and indispensable condition to a just and adequate judgment. And how carefully in this very matter of Old Testament inquiry we ought to guard against all merely literary handling of these Scriptures, and to how extreme and melancholy an issue the prosecution of that mode of treatment alone may legitimately carry one, we may learn from the case of Ernest Renan, who, in one of his most thoughtful works, the *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*, while extolling the Bible, as he has studied it, simply as a literary treasure, is led openly and explicitly to deny that the general reading of the Bible among the masses is a good thing except, as he adds, so far "as it is much better to see people read the Bible than nothing at all."*

S. D. F. S.

*Mr. Gladstone also notices this in his *Studies on Homer*, vol. II, p. 526.

VI.—COMTE ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.*

By Rev. B. F. Westcott, B.D.

I.

In a conversation with M. de Tocqueville on the tendencies of modern thought, Sir G. Lewis expressed his alarm at the growing influence of Comte. M. de Tocqueville was unable to sympathize with his apprehensions, for he had never heard of the philosopher. It would be difficult to find a more striking illustration of the power of that "conspiracy of silence" of which Comte declared so often that he was a victim. At present, however, he could hardly be dissatisfied with the extent of interest which his writings excite, though even now they are probably studied far more earnestly in England than in France; and in spite of their antagonism with English modes of thought, they seem likely to produce important results among us, not only in the philosophy of science, but also in the philosophy of morals and of religion. It is easy to present the details of Comte's social teaching under a ridiculous aspect. His unbounded self-reliance and confident prophecies offer a fruitful theme for criticism. And, on the other hand, his religious speculations are ignored by many who profess to be his disciples. The Christian scholar is tempted to look at nothing in his proposed spiritual organization but the obvious parodies of ecclesiastical rites. The physical student generally confines himself to his scientific doctrine and disregards his religion. On both sides there is a natural inclination to see only a part of his work. And the philosophical loss is great; for there is no writer who can claim more justly than Comte to be appreciated in his entirety. His whole system is essentially one in its orig-

* From the *Contemporary Review.*

inal conception. From first to last he contemplates the religious regeneration of humanity as the scope of his philosophy. He may have been faithless to his own principles* in the method by which he passed to his latest generalizations on the constitution of man and society, but none the less in his judgment these were the one issue upon which all human speculation could be worthily concentrated. It is impossible to judge Positivism fairly except in the light of the Positive Religion.

It is not, however, our object at present to discuss the system of sociolatry, which is, according to the sanguine assertions of its founder, to furnish to later generations a complete and permanent religion. The subject demands and will reward discussion in its Christian aspect; but as the dogmas of the new religion are founded, in fact, upon an analysis of the previous religious development of men, they can be rightly judged only after a general appreciation of this preparatory analysis. It is to this that our attention will be now confined. And no part of Comte's writings is richer in thought than that which he devotes to "social dynamics." No philosophy of history, and especially of mediæval history, approaches it for breadth of view and subtlety of criticism, though it is, at the same time, as will presently appear, defective and unjust in most essential points. As a general rule, no one is more suggestive than Comte in the co-ordination of acknowledged facts: no one more arbitrary in neglecting facts which do not fall within the range of his general theory. His reading originally was wide, but his early studies do not appear to have been supplemented by any later or more special historical investigations. Yet, in most cases, notorious facts are sufficient for his purpose; and according to the old phrase, it is impossible not to learn even from his errors. This is most true of his greatest error. For if he fails, as he certainly does fail, to apprehend what Christianity is, he simply represents with unusual power a type of thought which underlies the mass of modern philosophic literature. In so doing he un-

* That, in fact, he was so may be seen from the singularly calm and appreciative judgment of M. Littré in his essay, "A. Comte et le Positivisme," Paris, ed. 1, 1863, which forms an admirable introduction to the study of Comte. On the other side Dr. Bridges' tract on "The Unity of Comte's Doctrine," establishes the moral connection of its scientific and religious parts.

consciously reveals points in which Christian teachers have fallen short of the Christian Faith. If he attributes to the doctrine what belongs to the exposition, if he wholly misconceives the doctrine itself, yet what he says of Christian controversies may be applied to his own labors. It cannot be that speculations pursued with ardent devotion during a long literary life, and which have been capable of moving deeply men of the highest power, can be without real social and intellectual significance. With this conviction we shall attempt to examine impartially his theory of the preparation, the origin, the development, and the idea of Christianity. The inquiry is not without the deepest present interest. Nothing, we believe, can better show where the common estimate of Christianity is defective, and of what momentous importance it is to reassert the apostolic basis of the universality of the Gospel. Nothing, again, can place in a clearer light the complete inadequacy of a simple theory of development, unassisted by the introduction of new elements into human life, to account for the phenomena of the religious progress of mankind. Positivism is at once a most searching criticism of Christianity as a philosophy of life, and a most signal testimony to its truth.

II.

It is needless to dwell at length on the general scheme under which Comte arranges the whole religious progress of humanity. According to this there are three successive types of development, marked by the gradual limitation of the supposed operation of the Divine power, and corresponding generally with the fundamental powers of man—Feeling, Action, Thought. The earliest form of religion is Fetishism. This is spontaneous, springing out of the natural expression of feeling, and tending to the consolidation of personal attachment. But though adequate for private life, Fetishism was powerless for civil and national life, and in spite of its essential affinity with Positivism, the transition from the one to the other could only be accomplished by the intercalation of the various forms of Theism. These all differ from Fetishism by being essentially systematic. Polytheism, the earliest form, arose out of Fetishism by the separation of special objects from the mass of those

by which man is surrounded, whether the stars, as farthest removed from his influence, or other powers which appeared to exercise a more immediate action upon his destiny. Generally, Polytheism was favorable to activity, and trained the worshiper to veneration. Comformably to its origin, it is divisible into two distinct types, Conservative (theocratic) Polytheism, and Progressive (military) Polytheism. The former arose from astrolatry as a systematic development, the latter spontaneously from the abstract contemplation of the world. Monotheism is the final concentration of Theism. It is, on the whole, suited to the advance of intelligence, and elicits goodness. Like the Polytheism out of which it grows, it is of various kinds. On one side, we have in Judaism an exceptional result of Theocratic Polytheism; on the other, in the normal Monotheism of the West, the issue of the twofold types of Military Polytheism. For the Military Polytheism of the West is itself divisible into two characteristic forms, the one the Intellectual Polytheism of Greece, the other the Social Polytheism of Rome. Catholicism, the last and highest type of Monotheism, includes in itself, according to Comte, characteristic elements of each of these special and preparatory developments.*

* Politique Positive iii, 418 ff., 500 ff.

The following scheme may make the general relations of the systems clearer:—

Religion based upon the assumption of inherent power in

i. *Every* Being. FETISHISM. Spontaneous.

ii. *Special* Beings. Systematic.

(1) *Many*. POLYTHEISM.

(*a*) Systematic in origin. ASTROLATRY.
Conservative: Theocratic.

(*β*) Spontaneous in origin. NORMAL POLYTHEISM.
Progressive: Military.

(*a*) Intellectual. GREEK POLYTHEISM.

(*b*) Social. ROMAN POLYTHEISM.

(2) *One*. MONOTHEISM.

(*a*) Systematic in origin.

(*a*) From conservative Polytheism: Spiritual power supreme: JUDAISM. Temporal power supreme: MOHAMMEDANISM.

(*b*) From progressive Polytheism: ARISTOTLE.

(*b*) Spontaneous in origin.
From progressive Polytheism: ST. PAUL.

(*c*) Final combination of (*a*) and (*b*): Spiritual and Temporal powers co-ordinate: CATHOLICISM.

This rapid outline will be sufficient to show the general filiation of religions in the positive system; and, as a whole, it calls for no criticism. The convergence of the theocratic, the intellectual, and the social types of religion in Christianity, is generally recognized, and absolutely beyond question. But Comte's view of Judaism is so remarkable, and so singularly at variance with all historical evidence, that it deserves a more special exposition. As a representative theory, it is of the greatest interest: it is suggested on the first occasion on which he is forced to have recourse to a natural and inadequate explanation of a phenomenon perfectly intelligible on the admission of a Divine revelation, or, in other words, on the admission of a new fact.

According to Comte, the Jewish theocracy was an offshoot of the Egyptian (and possibly of the Chaldæan) theocracy. The sacerdotal castes in Egypt and Chaldea having long arrived at a monotheistic doctrine, by virtue of their proper mental development, were led at last to establish a completely monotheistic colony in Syria, partly as an asylum to which they might retire from the dangers of their own countries, and partly as an experiment for the more complete development of a sacerdotal government by the absolute subordination of the military class. In both respects, he admits, as it seems, that the design failed. The efforts of the priesthood to preserve monotheism among the people provoked constant opposition; and the radical instability of a monotheistic theocracy was seen in the speedy predominance of the military class which it sought to repress. As the institution failed in its object it failed also in its essential spirit. Individuals raised themselves above the class. Judaism was distinguished, as he remarks, from all normal theocracies by the prevalence of personal types in the priesthood.

The historic aspect of this theory has lately been examined with thorough care,* and it is unnecessary to revert to it; but even as a theory it fails to explain the facts which it is invented to meet. Such a hypothesis neglects the central idea of Judaism, which is the consecration of a nation and not of a caste.

* Prof. J. H. Jellett's '*Examination of some of the Moral Difficulties of the Old Testament.*' App.

It leaves wholly unnoticed the unquestionable permanence and progress of religious ideas among the Jews during a long series of civil revolutions. It takes no account of the signal manner in which each crisis of the State was made to minister to the development of the vital truths of the system. It leaves no field for the peculiar ministry of the Prophets. Above all, it is inconsistent with the evolution of the Messianic hopes, in virtue of which the nation lived, and still lives. In other words, it omits exactly those essential features by which Judaism is distinguished from other theocracies.

But while Comte's account of the origin of Judaism is necessarily defective, he fully appreciates its intellectual and moral grandeur, and marks the important effect which the incorporation of the Jewish Scriptures in the Christian Bible has exerted on the Church, by sanctioning the belief in the historical continuity of religious life, and witnessing to the gradual transformation of a primitive faith into a purer and more complete type. "The ingratitude of Christians," he says, "has neutralized the bond which tended to preserve the true filiation of humanity. Positivism alone will secure for the Hebrew commonwealth the recognition which is its due." The recompense was merited by the sacrifice. As a people, the Jews, he says, were sacrificed to a premature development of monotheism, just as the Greeks were sacrificed to a premature development of mind. The first reproach may unhappily be true. The Jew does not occupy that place of honor in our spiritual ancestry which is accorded to the Greek in our intellectual ancestry. The reason is obvious. Viewed historically, religion is less absolute in form, and therefore more progressive than literature. Thus we can instinctively feel the connection in one case which requires to be established in the other. But though we suffer much from the popular neglect of the principle of proportion in estimating the permanent significance of Judaism, the spirit of St. Paul shows to the latest age that God "hath not cast away his people." The national life of Jew and Greek has been incorporated into the life of humanity, and in that perpetuity of function lies, as far as we can yet see, the true immortality of nations.

III.

On the positivist theory Christianity was the necessary result of previous antecedents. It could not but arise, it is argued, from the contact of Jewish monotheism, Greek speculation, and Roman empire. If it were a system of dogmas such a position might be tenable; but it is hard to see how the concurrence of forms of thought could issue in a historic gospel which was only gradually fashioned into doctrine. Nothing perhaps in the whole of Comte's criticism is so remarkable as his total omission of all reference to the facts which the Apostles announced. There is not, unless I am mistaken, a single reference in his book to the Resurrection, which, whether true or false, was the central announcement of the first teachers of Christianity, and the unquestionable source of their power. But he is at least consistent in his neglect of the historic side of Christianity. He deliberately rejects the name itself because it is personal, and adopts that of Catholicism, in its place, as at once more expressive and not misleading. "Every one," he adds, with a confidence which few probably will share, "knows certainly what a Catholic is, while no one of intelligence can flatter himself with understanding what a Christian is."

But even thus Comte finds it necessary to refer the fundamental constitution of Catholicism to one author. "It was really founded by St. Paul. . . . . All the essential conceptions of Catholicism in relation to dogma, to worship, and to government are already defined in his occasional letters, the merit of which appears more striking when contrasted with the intellectual and moral vagueness which marks the more highly venerated books by which they are surrounded." With characteristic boldness Comte proceeds to sketch the process by which St. Paul was led to achieve his work of sublime self-devotion. The spiritual development of monotheism required that its final phase should be referred immediately to a supernatural source. This could not be conceived under any other form than that of "an incarnation sufficiently prolonged for the institution of its essential bases."

"Such a requirement appears to demand in the founder of the system, a mixture of hypocrisy and fascination incompat-

ible with real superiority of heart and spirit. This difficulty could only be solved by an act of spontaneous self-sacrifice, if the true author of the system were willing to subordinate himself to one of the many adventurers who were necessarily led at that time to attempt the inauguration of monotheism, by aspiring, like their Greek predecessors, at a personal union with the deity (*divinisation*). St. Paul was soon led to treat in this manner that one among the numerous prophets who best sustained such a character. A Jew by birth, but educated under the influence of Greece, and already become truly a Roman, he at first despised such a type. Yet while meditating on the construction of monotheism, he was led to appreciate rightly the service which the success of a rising sect would contribute to it. Thus preserved from all personal degradation, St. Paul was able to develop freely his original mission, the course of which caused him to feel the importance of the solution which he had found in such a manner as to fill him with a profound veneration for a type of character henceforth idealized."

It is difficult to suppose that Comte had not read the epistles of St. Paul, and still more difficult to suppose that if he had read them he could have offered such an explanation as the historical interpretation of their substance. Every lesson which they contained is inspired by the belief in an actual Resurrection, which was "the gospel which St. Paul received." In this respect there could be no scope for "idealization of type." The question was simply of fact, and as such St. Paul always deals with it. Whether then he believed in the Resurrection literally or not—if we may without irreverence state the alternative—Comte's theory equally fails. If he believed, it fails because in that case he was not the author of that which, on his own testimony, was simply the application of external facts; if he did not believe, it fails because he is no longer free from that "personal degradation" which is regarded as incompatible with his position. And the conclusion which follows from this crucial case, follows equally from the whole manner in which St. Paul deals with the Person of Christ. The intense individuality of relationship between the disciple and the Master, between the believer and the Lord, is not more marked in the

Gospels than it is in the Pauline epistles. For this, no intellectual appreciation of Christianity as *doctrine* is an adequate explanation. Nothing but living facts can account for a devotion in which all the treasures of feeling are exhausted, for a faith in which all the powers of action are ennobled.

Thus positivism again fails in dealing with the origin of a progressive religious movement by the neglect of facts. It fails to apprehend the peculiarities of Judaism; it fails to apprehend the characteristics of Christianity (comp. § v.). But Comte's analysis of the relation in which it stands to earlier and contemporary systems is most full and instructive. His intense dislike of speculation for its own sake renders him perhaps somewhat unfair to the later Greeks, but it would be difficult to point out a general estimate of the services which progressive polytheism—embodied in the twin types of Greece and Rome—have rendered to humanity, more just or more comprehensive. Comte falls into error here, not in the analysis of phenomena, but in the conclusion which he draws from them. Like many other writers on the philosophy of history, he assumes that the convergence of lines of facts has a creative power; that a prophecy, so to speak, carries with it the means of its own fulfilment; that if the apostolic age was prepared to receive the doctrine of Christianity, it was capable of originating the events out of which the doctrine was drawn. It is undoubtedly true, that on a broad view of the life of the world, the instincts of humanity, no less than the instincts of man, are satisfied; but that is not in virtue of their own nature, but by the introduction in due time of new elements into the old order, whereby we are assured at once of its Divine unity and of its Divine vitality.

IV.

Of the early victories of Christianity, of its conquest of the individual, the family, the nation, Comte says little. Yet he acknowledges that it claimed universality from the first, and frankly recognizes that in the first three centuries it had become so far matured in doctrine, in worship, and in government, as to be able to enter on the sovereignty of the West, which was prepared for it by the retirement of Constantine to his new

Rome. If Christianity was based upon facts, this progress is intelligible. The course which it followed is exactly that which might have been expected. If, on the other hand, it was a mere phase of intellectual or moral growth, the direction in which it spread is inexplicable. "The poor" were equally unfitted to receive and to propagate mere dogmas, while they could best apprehend and appropriate the personal meaning of a historical Gospel, of which the abstract significance remained for later investigation.

The practical supremacy of the West which was gained by the Papacy in the fourth century, was the beginning of the characteristic work of Catholicism—the establishment of a universal spiritual power independent of the temporal power. Towards this great end the ecclesiastical organization of the Church and the fashioning of doctrine in earlier times alike tended. And in the partial and transitory realization of this aim lies, in Comte's judgment, the claim of Catholicism to be considered the greatest triumph which humanity has yet achieved.

Thus Comte's interest and sympathy are concentrated on western Christianity, for Christianity in the form of Roman Catholicism is a social power controlling national life with a central authority. The other forms which it has assumed are to him comparatively of secondary interest. They are phases of doctrine, while this was a centre of organization. The causes of this fundamental contrast existed, as Comte points out, from the first. In the earliest age in which Christianity can be studied, it offers two distinct types, corresponding to the two forms of progressive polytheism with which they respectively were connected—the intellectual or Greek type, and the social or Roman type; and these two types only, for those polytheistic nations which have been subjected to any form of theocracy, were essentially incapable of furthering the advance of a religion which was based upon the inherent independence of the two powers.

Catholicism, however, included the results of the final concentration of both forms of polytheism. It harmonized the social monotheism of St. Paul, the potential creed of the mass, springing out of spontaneous polytheism, and tending to theologism,

with the intellectual polytheism of Aristotle, the creed of the select, springing out of the systematic polytheism of astrolatry and tending to polytheism. It was otherwise with Byzantinism, the true type of Greek Christianity. The tendency of Greek Christianity was to recur constantly to reason, while Roman Christianity reposed implicitly on revelation. The former was fruitful in heresies; the latter was enabled by a social instinct to repress speculative controversy. The incorporation of Judaism into the new faith offered a crucial test of the essential differences by which the churches were animated. The Greek Church accepted the necessity only after a long struggle; the Roman Church welcomed it at once as a pledge of social continuity. But though in the end more hurtful than helpful to religious development, the Greek Church performed for a time an important work. It served to keep alive the intellectual powers of men while the Roman Church was absorbed in the work of organization. But after the seventh century, when Mohammedanism assumed the lead in mental progress,* Byzantinism sank into insignificance, and remains to the present time, it is said, a signal monument of the impotence of doctrine alone to rule and elevate mankind.

This estimate of the Greek Church is a good example of Comte's unconscious injustice. He omits all discussion of the period in which its great office was fulfilled, under the guidance of the Alexandrine school, from Clement to Athanasius, and characterizes it by the speculations of later Fathers which really prepared the way for the retributive conquests of Mohammed. In other places Comte appreciates more justly the magnificent results, moral and political, of the labor of Athanasius; and a more profound appreciation of the early Greek Fathers would have shown him that it is in their writings, and yet more in their modes of thought, that we must look for those views of Christianity which include all that is true in the positivist theories of the solidarity and continuity of life.

But with a view to the mediæval work of Christianity,

* The explanation which Comte gives of the rapid intellectual and æsthetic progress of the Arabs, as due to the concentration of the work of the priesthood on these subjects, from the absolute nature of the civil power, while the Catholic priesthood were engaged in independent organization (Phil. Pos. v. 320; Pol. Pos. iii. 471, 479), deserves careful consideration.

Comte is fully justified in fixing his attention exclusively on "Catholicism, rightly called Roman," and his estimate of its office is at once cordial and just. The whole period over which the work of Catholicism spreads is, as he rightly judges, from the fifth to the thirteenth century. This constitutes "the affective transition," completing the triple preparation of the West for Positivism, and ending in an exceptional period of anarchic criticism, which is now, as it is supposed, drawing to a close. Throughout this period of its power, the spiritual work of the Church was seconded by the temporal work of Feudalism. As the one tended to the establishment of two powers, so the other tended to the conversion of offensive into defensive warfare; and both combined harmoniously together for the establishment of the complementary ideas of submission and protection, of combination and independence, of social devotion and personal emancipation.

No summary can do justice to the exposition in which these fundamental ideas are elaborated. A few paragraphs will place the reader in possession of its main outlines; and in these I shall endeavor to state simply Comte's own views, without any detailed criticism. What appear to be errors in detail are of little moment compared with the errors of principle, which will be generally noticed afterwards.

To proceed, then, with Comte's analysis. Three subordinate periods of nearly equal length go to make up the whole period of vital Catholicism. The first includes the fifth to the seventh centuries, and is marked politically by the rise of the new western commonwealth, and socially by the growth of independence. The second includes the eighth to the tenth centuries, and is marked politically by the consolidation of the West by wars against polytheists capable of incorporation, and socially by the extension of collective action. The third includes the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, and is marked politically by the completion of the western commonwealth through wars against monotheists incapable of incorporation, socially by the union of independence with combination, and spiritually by the last possible regeneration of Catholicism, as Comte affirms, in the introduction of the worship of the Blessed Virgin as the best representative of humanity.

The last period—the age of Gregory VII., Alexander III., and Innocent III., of St. Bruno, St. Bernard, and St. Francis, of Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas—demands a more detailed notice. It witnessed in successive centuries the consolidation of the catholico-feudal constitution, its splendid triumph, and its essential dissolution. Chivalry from being an instinct became an institution. The independence of Christendom was assured by the Crusades. Philosophy and science were again united in the hands of the priesthood. Industry was furthered by the institution of guilds, and commerce was enlarged by intercourse with the East. But at the moment when the end seemed to have been attained, the whole system gave way. The idea of humanity was exhibited only to be withdrawn. Activity was stimulated only to be found incompatible with the basis of religion. The military orders threatened Europe with a tyranny worse than theocratic despotism. The permanence of Islam was a recognized refutation of the claims of Catholicism to universality. The Church proved incapable of guiding an intellectual progress, which was become of more imperious necessity than moral progress. Social considerations were no longer capable as before of controlling the spirit or the issues of controversy. Industrial development grew inconsistent with a theological belief, alike from the predominance which it gave to earthly claims and from the recognition of the fixity of physical laws on which its success depends. So it came to pass that in the thirteenth century the monotheism of Aristotle practically prevailed over that of St. Paul. Catholicism had created a want which it could not satisfy, and thenceforth became retrograde. The two elements which before had worked harmoniously together, severally usurped each other's functions. On the one side temporal sovereigns aimed at spiritual independence; on the other side the popes used their spiritual powers to gain a temporal supremacy. The true sacerdotal spirit was diminished, and violence was used to repress spiritual error. The function of defensive warfare was exhausted, and military power became henceforth a distracting force. An age of anarchy closed an age of hope.

But the final failure of Catholicism and Feudalism to achieve the permanent settlement of life to which they aspired must not, as Comte teaches, blind us to the services which they rendered to the cause of humanity, politically, morally, intellectually.

In the first respect, both worked for good equally by their organization and by their action, or, to use more convenient technical words, statically and dynamically. The constitution of the ecclesiastical hierarchy finally extinguished the idea of caste by the right of free election, and the choice of superiors by inferiors. At the same time the monastic orders preserved learning and maintained the idea of spiritual unity against the tendency of nationalization in the secular clergy. Clerical celibacy and the temporal power, which were necessities of the situation, contributed also most powerfully to give consistency and weight to the influence of freedom and independence.* In action the Church was not less beneficent. Above all, it established a general system of education for all men, wholly unknown before, in which the true conception of history, seen in the history of the Church to be a record of the life of humanity, found its proper place; and this comprehensive education of the young was supplemented by confession, the education of the old. The characteristic doctrines of Catholicism were no less salutary in their working. The Fall, the Incarnation, the Holy Trinity, the Real Presence, form an invisible whole, establishing the radical freedom of the spiritual power and the characteristic function of the priesthood. Even the secondary articles of faith, on purgatory, the worship of saints, exclusive salvation, were equally necessary for the fulfilment of the moral work of the Church and for the independent consolidation of faith.†

Meanwhile, Feudalism seconded the political work of the Church by the conversion of offensive into defensive warfare, by the decomposition of great powers, by the conversion of

* The influence of the spiritual power upon the history of Italy is given in a few touches, with singular skill: Pol. Pos. iii. 473 f; 539. Phil. Pos. 401, 404.

† Comte calls attention to the important fact, that as a general rule, doctrinal heresies have been connected with grave social and moral aberrations. Phil. Pos. v. 272. This may be seen in a crucial example in the relation of the Orthodox and Arian parties to the civil power. Phil. Pos. v. 270.

slavery into serfdom. But these operations, however congenial to the Germanic spirit, must not, Comte affirms, be attributed to it. Germanism was powerless till the feudal constitution was essentially formed by the action of the Church upon the Roman system.* Whatever may be thought, however, of the origin of these tendencies, no doubt can exist as to their concurrence with the spirit of the Church. Defensive warfare facilitated the conception of unity in independent nations. The Crusades, as defensive wars, were successful. The dispersion of power again resuscitated the sense of territorial responsibility; and the relation of the lord to his dependents created and reconciled the conceptions of freedom and devotion. The establishment of serfdom prepared the way for the emancipation of labor, and, though remotely, for the recognition of the dignity of man as man.

Morally, the action of Catholicism was yet more effective than politically. Its great triumph was the transference of social supremacy from politics to ethics; and this revolution it effected by its capacity for becoming the organ of general opinion, and no less by its ability to create concrete types of character which were fitted to mold the lives of the warrior. Each department of morality—personal, domestic, social—bears in it the ameliorations of Catholicism. In the first, we admire the laws of self-control, and purity, and humility, and the condemnation of suicide. In the second, the ordering of family life; the just limitation of paternal and conjugal authority in contrast with ancient tyranny; the elevation of women by the establishment of the indissolubility of marriage, and the final separation of the functions of the sexes. In the third, the modification of the classical type of patriotism by the idea of humanity; the normal† consecration of fortune and powers to the good of others; the systematic foundation of benevolent

* This practical denial of the characteristic working of the Germanic peoples seems to be the most important political error in Comte's analysis. He appears to argue that because the condition of the Romanic nations at the critical time was favorable to their action, it must therefore have directed it. It would be no less reasonable to argue that if the clay is tempered for the molder's hands, it therefore shapes itself into the statue.

† The passage in which Comte discusses the subordination of genius to morality will well repay careful study. Phil. Pos. v. 302 ff.

institutions, unknown to antiquity; the conceptions of solidarity, perpetuity, commemoration, although limited by theological prejudices.

Intellectually, Catholicism was less powerful. But during the period of its vigor it was not antagonistic to intellectual progress. By the concentration of the theological notion of inspiration in papal infallibility, it reduced it to its least possible dimensions; and in the same way it confined the range of the miraculous within narrower limits, opening a wider field to science. The vast service which it rendered by the introduction of the study of history has been already noticed; and the separation of the two powers offered scope for the separate development of theory and practice.

But intellectually, and yet more, industrially, the adaptability of Catholicism was small; and failure in these respects soon became incompatible with continued moral sovereignty. It reposed on the idea of absolute knowledge, just as feudalism reposed on the idea of military activity. But the permanent bases of society are relativity and pacific activity; and so it came to pass that the transition from the one theory of life to the other could only be effected by a long period of "dispersive analysis," of general decomposition, accompanied by the silent reconstruction of the elements of the new system.

This deplorable and yet necessary period of revolution began in the fourteenth century and continues to the nineteenth, when, according to Comte's sanguine expectations, it is to close irrevocably. It is made up of two great parts.* The first, including the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was occupied by a spontaneous movement of dissolution; in the second, reaching from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, the movement has been regulated by a negative metaphysical philosophy. Each of these great periods again falls into subordinate divisions, characterized by distinct stages in the progress of the twofold work which they were destined to accomplish. A brief summary will be sufficient to show the general course of the revolution.

The first period, though its character has been generally overlooked, is, as Comte shows, really the most important for the

* Phil. Pos. v. 346 ff. Pol. Pos. iii. 500 ff.

true understanding of the fall of Catholicism.* The process of dissolution, as has been seen, arose from the destruction of the harmony of the spiritual and temporal powers. The premature separation of their functions was transitory, partly from the imperfect state of civilization, and partly from the inherent vices of the theological basis on which it was founded. Thus the two powers became antagonistic to one another, and each was internally disorganized. The papacy, attempting repression, was met by national resistance, and became an Italian principality. In states the parties of the king and the nobles entered on a permanent opposition. And each power furnished a class of men fitted to conduct the work of demolition. From the spiritual power arose the metaphysicians, under whose guidance the philosophy of Aristotle—essentially unlimited in its criticism—triumphed in scholasticism. From the temporal power arose the legists, by whose efforts kings and national churches were aided in their resistance to the popes.

The consequent spiritual decomposition of Europe followed a natural law. In the fourteenth century kings contended against *Papal* supremacy; in the fifteenth century national churches contended against *Roman* supremacy. The one age is symbolized in the residence of the popes at Avignon; the other by the council of Constance. The success of the first struggle destroyed the intellectual and moral foundation of temporal power; the success of the second struggle placed the clergy generally in a more oppressive state of political dependence.

The temporal disorder corresponded with this spiritual degeneracy. The European states were left wholly uncontrolled, except by the equilibrium of force. The papacy was powerless when its sacerdotal mediation was most needed. The ties of feudalism were destroyed by the institution of standing armies. As a general rule, the civil conflicts of states terminated in the triumph of the king over the nobles—a compensation for the

* No part of Comte's sketch will better repay careful study than the sections which deal with this period; yet here again it is most characteristic that he fails to appreciate the full influence of the revival of Greek learning. In that may be seen equally the germ of the Renaissance and the germ of the Reformation.

triumph of the local over the central power in the decomposition of the Church. But to this rule England forms an important exception, where the aristocracy triumphed over the king—an abnormal catastrophe, at once the consequence of its earlier history and the key to the peculiarities of its later development. Yet in both cases the essential result was the same. A temporal dictature took the place of the former independent combination of the spiritual and temporal powers.

So far the right of free judgment had been implicitly exercised. In the next period Comte goes on to show that it was systematized as an instrument of destruction—first by the Protestant Revolution in the sixteenth century, and then by the Deistic Revolution in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Politically, intellectually, and morally, Protestantism has influenced modern Europe most powerfully, according to Comte, if not for good. Politically, it has on the one side ratified the dependence of the clergy on the state even in Catholic countries, an issue which Jesuitism—a spiritual anachronism—was unable to avert; and on the other side it checked and modified the temporal dictature by vigorous opposition to the power destined to triumph. Thus in France a Calvinistic nobility curbed the king; in England, a royal pope curbed the aristocracy.

Intellectually, Protestantism was the first systematic organ of emancipation. Step by step from the right of private judgment it evolved the principles of absolute personal liberty, of the sovereignty of numbers, of individual equality, of the independence or isolation of nations. In this way it created an effectual correction to the tyranny of the temporal dictature. By sanctioning individuality it stimulated progress.

Morally, its success was consequent upon the degradation of Catholicism, which had become strong only against the weak. Thus, it upheld *rights* where Catholicism only enforced *duties*. Each of the intellectual principles which have been noticed had also a moral significance. From the principle of personal liberty followed the necessity of repressing opinion by spiritual force only; from that of popular sovereignty, the subordination of all to the general interest; from that of individual equality,

the dignity of man as against caste; from that of national independence, the respect for small states. But in dealing with these questions, Protestantism was simply empiric. Dogmatically, its various forms were nothing but the reproduction of earlier heresies, which triumphed at last, because they were in harmony with the times. Thus, from its inherent vices, it was incapable of giving rise to the final order. It systematised the exclusion of the spiritual power from co-ordinate political authority with the temporal power, and destroyed the sense of religious continuity by the depreciation of the middle ages. It tended to an absolute concentration; kings aimed at a Mohammedan absolutism; priests, at a Jewish theocracy; philosophers, at a reign of sages. It sought political remedies for moral evils by extending legislation to manners and opinions. It so far unsettled the principles of morality, that at present practical disorder is only averted by the activity of modern life.

The spirit of criticism which was once roused could not be restrained: a Deistic revolution was a consequence of Protestant teaching. This, in its first stage, was elaborated in Protestant countries (Hobbes, Spinoza, Bayle). Intellectually, it was the last issue of ancient philosophy, absolute and universal in its method, with Nature for God. Morally, it was the construction of a theory of self-love, based upon the supposed unity and completeness of the "I." Politically, it was the dogmatic recognition of the subordination of the spiritual to the temporal power. When the basis was laid, the work of propagation was transferred to a new centre. Protestantism became unfavorable to further progress, and Catholic France completed the movement which had been begun. The school of Voltaire achieved the intellectual work of negativism, while it respected the temporal power; the school of Rousseau achieved the political work of negativism, while it endeavored to support a spiritual power. Even the Economists contributed something to the general result, by showing the incompetence of governments to deal with industry.

Thus, according to Comte, eighteen Christian centuries have left us in a state of anarchy. Under the teaching of Protestantism morals have been involved in the discredit of theology: the recognition of the solidarity of mankind has been lost: the

sense of the continuity of human life has been destroyed: a religion based upon theology in its ultimate form has been proved incapable of dealing adequately with the material interests of man. If we are unable to accept the consolation which Positivism offers in the "demonstrable religion," of which collective humanity is "the Great Being," the present and the future suggest no grounds for faith or hope. The alternative is alarming, but, happily, it is not necessary.

Without the least wish to depreciate the power and subtlety of Comte's analysis, which the most meagre abstract cannot wholly obscure, every one will feel the two fatal errors by which it is vitiated as a complete philosophy of Christian history. It assumes that Christianity is one definite systematization of human life; and it fails to co-ordinate the individual with the society. It will be worth while to notice these points a little more at length.

By substituting "Roman Catholicism" for Christianity, Comte himself has emphasized the first error. In this case the epithet, as he notices, is of fundamental importance. But the normal positivist division of our powers might have suggested that the Catholicism of action is not the only Catholicism. There is also, to employ corresponding terms, a Catholicism of thought, and there is a Catholicism of feeling. The Catholicism of thought was apprehended with general truth by the early Greek Fathers; the Catholicism of feeling is that towards which the disunited churches are now striving. The form in which the fundamental unity finds expression is not necessarily the result of a definite design nor consciously directed towards an immediate aim. It may be the spontaneous product of the concurrence of various efforts. Nay more; it evidently gains in nobility in proportion as it is shaped by individual action and not by central control. The character of any special civilization is leavened by a corresponding development of spiritual power. Thus Christianity is supremely fitted to mold for itself the organism which is best suited to meet the intellectual, or social, or moral wants of the age. It is manifold in embodiment, though one in essence. It is not a principle of order, but a spirit of life. It is limited, not by laws of logical construction, but by laws of free growth. It survives the decay of one organization to ani-

mate another. The medium, of which Comte rightly notes the importance, does not communicate the impulse, but, within certain limits, determines the form in which it will be manifested. The doctrine is the soul of the constitution: the constitution gives the instruments by which the doctrine acts. The doctrine may degenerate into a traditional formula, and then its virtue will be gone; the constitution may degenerate into a mere series of forms, and it will leave the springs of personal morality untouched; but doctrine and constitution alike regain their power when they are apprehended as the expression of a personal relation of the individual and humanity to a divine and human Lord. If Christianity had been only a system of spiritual philosophy, the rapid descent of Greek Christianity into Byzantinism might seem to show that it was only transitory and essentially imperfect. If its only work had been to mold new peoples to social order, the decay of Roman Catholicism might seem to be the decay of Christianity. But if this rudimentary discipline was to be followed by a multiform training of separate nationalities, if the common education was to be followed by the special education of maturity, then it becomes evident that the dispersive action of Protestantism, even in this aspect, was not a retrogression but an advance in spiritual culture. However imposing the apparent unity of the religious life of the middle ages may be, it cannot be questioned that, socially and individually, the principles of Christianity are more powerful now than then. We lose the sense of their general action in the variety of forms through which they work. Yet it is obvious that this result is due to the necessary complexity of a later stage of society, for which the simple organization which Comte desires would be equally inapplicable, and destructive of the free development of the individual, in which lies the promise of the completer unity of the later phase of Catholic Christianity.

The denial of this tendency of spontaneous action, guided by true spiritual principles, to issue in a vital harmony, is Comte's second and most characteristic error. He is essentially intolerant of individuality. He has no faith in any order which is not the result of systematization. Thus Protestantism, which in a philosophical aspect is individualised faith, is, in his judg-

ment, simply destructive. He cannot see that it has a constructive as well as a critical power. Still less can he see that the free play of individuality is (subject to the necessary reaction of society) beneficial to humanity. Not only does he affirm as a fundamental principle the superiority of public to private life, but he refuses to recognize private life as having any independent value. The man by himself is not only regarded as a member of mankind, and so pledged to the service of the whole, but he is held to be devoid of all personal unity and unworthy of personal consideration. This exaggeration of a great truth is perhaps excusable. There can be no doubt that we have suffered the conception of the social destiny of the individual to fall into disregard. It is the natural tendency of Protestantism to individualize where Roman Catholicism organizes; but the correction of an error is not to be found in the assertion of the converse error. A little consideration will show that the highest harmony must be conditioned by the most complete evolution of the separate properties of the elements out of which it is composed. The dispersive criticism and construction of Protestantism is, like the social control and combination of Catholicism, transitional. It is not the final stage of Christendom, but it is the preparation for it. The free action of the society and the free action of the man are included in the highest conception of human life. Both, as it appears, have been exhibited on a scale sufficiently large to allow of the separation of that which is only occasional, or even disturbing in their manifestation, from that which is lasting and fruitful. Without presuming to imitate Comte's prophecies, we can at least see with hope that the elements of a permanent synthesis of life are now offered for the future. Christianity has been revealed as a social power and as a personal power in the richest variety of circumstances. It remains for us to harmonize the idea of society and self, as they are seen to be harmonized in the teaching of the apostles. In this lies the highest problem of philosophy, and the most worthy aim of life. "The prize is noble," as Plato said of the corresponding problem in his age, "and the hope is great."

V.

It cannot be surprising that Compte should fail to apprehend the manifold power of Christianity. He has wholly failed to seize its central idea. In his analysis, Christianity is the last reduction of *Monotheism.** It is not too much to say that no description of what Christianity claims to be could be philosphically more misleading or more false. Christianity, while it teaches the fundamental doctrine of the unity of the Godhead, is most emphatically not a form of monotheism. If we might venture to use a word not wholly without ancient precedent, it might be described as *Theanthropism.* It proclaims, not a conception of God, but a manifestation of God. It rests, not on the abstract truth of the unity of the Godhead, but on the concrete fact that "the Word was made flesh." The Incarnation and the Resurrection, *as facts*, are the springs from which flow all its vital influences. Its basis is not rational but historical. The difference is obviously essential, both socially and personally. Monotheism, if not purely subjective, can only be regarded as the interpretation of a revelation. Christianity is absolutely objective, and in its latest applications is the interpretation of an actual Life. It does not concern us here to discuss the evidence for the central facts of that Life. As far as the philosophic appreciation of Christianity is concerned, it is enough to consider the natural consequences of that belief in its fundamental facts which is allowed on all sides to have existed from the first. The questions before us are, How Christianity was powerful during its past progress? and next, Whether, if it be supposed true, it has still any virtue to satisfy the peculiar exigences of our own civilization? To the first question, some reply has been given: to the second, some reply must be given now.

It will then be evident at first sight how momentous are the consequences, intellectual, moral, and political, which follow from any belief in Christianity. To confound it in any of these relations with monotheism is simply to neglect its essential

* This most remarkable conception of Christianity is nowhere seen more strikingly expressed than in the identification of the teaching of Aristotle and St. Paul, except so far as the one was dominated by an intellectual and the other by a moral purpose. Pol. Pos. 429 ff.; 433.

characteristics. The monotheistic and the Christian aspects of the world have, in the present state of civilization (and the limitation is important) really nothing in common. The monotheism of Judaism always tended towards a personal manifestation of God, and so was vital and progressive. The monotheism of Islam—the only true monotheism—was a practical expression of absolute fatalism, powerful for a time, but stationary. Monotheism at present, as a result of pure reason, is only a pious confession of the insolubility of the ultimate problem of life, and in itself inoperative and inconsequent.

Thus when Comte charges monotheism with being "vague, arbitrary, and absolute," the charge is well-founded against the rational monotheism of the nineteenth century, but as against Christianity the accusation is baseless. On the contrary, the spiritual conceptions of Christianity are definite, historical, and relative.* The Resurrection consecrates potentially every part of man to an eternal destiny. It is not vague. The fact itself is a new fact added to the sum of human experience, and not an ideal explanation of difficulties. It is not arbitrary. The account given to us of its character, by reconciling an unchanged personality with changed conditions of existence, marks with the clearest possible emphasis the relativity of our present conceptions of life to that fuller life around us with which our life is still in fellowship. It is not absolute. So it is that Christianity meets the intellectual demands of the latest age; so it is that it introduces into life a principle of infinitude and a principle of unity.

The moral transformation effected by a belief in Christianity is not less complex than the intellectual. When Comte speaks of "the remarkable conformity of all the forms of monotheism, when compared not only in regard to theological dogmas, but also in regard to moral precepts, without excepting either Mohammedanism or the so-called Greek Catholicism," it is difficult to imagine a confusion more complete. The irreconcilable theological contrast of Mohammedanism and Christianity has been already pointed out. The contrast of the motives of action in

* The last characteristic destroys all the absurd conclusions which Comte draws from the *absolute* conception of a Being infinitely good, and wise, and powerful, which he considers to be fatal to Monotheism: *e. g.*, Pol. Pos. iii. 445 f.

the two systems of morals is equally great. In any monotheism the motive of action must be obedience to a divine revelation or to a conclusion of reason; in Christianity the motive lies in objective, personal, human relations to the Lord, and through Him to all men, and, even yet more, to all creation. Comte himself has noticed in detail many of the moral reformations of "Catholicism" in regard to the individual and the family. If he had traced them back to their origin he could scarcely have failed to notice the boundless fertility of the source from which they were derived, and have modified his condemnation of Christian egotism, which, wherever it exists, is, at least, essentially opposed to the spirit of Christian morality.

But, indeed, the potential perfection of Christian morality, both as a system and as a practical power, will, perhaps, hardly be questioned.* The political significance of Christianity is more in danger of being neglected, and by nothing has Comte rendered a greater service to modern thought than by the power and faith with which he has enforced the ennobling doctrines of the continuity and solidarity of human life. But in teaching these doctrines he has unconsciously only brought back into notice what St. Paul and St. John declared to lie in the most elementary apprehension of the Gospel.† A Christian, if he reflects upon his faith, is forced to believe that the life of the world is, relative to us, the evolution of one divine thought, and that the sum of beings at any time form a whole, no part of which is independent of the remainder.

But though these doctrines are thus set forth in the apostolic records, they have been long neglected, because they have been long foreign to the immediate religious work of the time. The tendency of Protestantism, as has been already seen, is to obscure the conception of continuity. By looking mainly at the individual it is capable of neglecting these broader differences of thought and action which characterize ages and nations. It reposes rather on logical deduction than on vital progress. It

*This topic has been conclusively handled by Mr. Llewelyn Davies in his Sermons on *Christian Morality*.

†For example, the noble passage in which Comte enforces the moral destination and work of genius, to which reference has been made, is essentially a writing at length of a familiar precept of St. Paul, without its sanction.

favors the attempt to establish one absolute standard of Christian organization, which is fatal to the just appreciation of historic development. Thus the notion of relativity or proportion in estimating the embodiment (not the essence) of truth has been practically set aside in the interpretation of Jewish and Christian history, and theology is now paying the penalty of the error. As it has been argued that laws of the Jewish theocracy are directly and not relatively binding upon us, so many have supposed that a generous recognition of the work achieved by Roman Catholicism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must imply a desire to restore the same organization now. No conclusion could be more false. Exactly in proportion as the system was suited to inspire society then with Christian ideas, it must be unsuited to operate on society now, which is essentially changed. In a new medium the old life will assume a new form; and, as we believe Christianity to be universal, so we look confidently for variety in the modes under which it will satisfy the wants of men. To erect any one age into an idol is to deny implicitly that the Gospel is life. To erase any one generation from our spiritual ancestry is to abandon part of the heritage with which we work for the future.

What has been said of the conception of spiritual continuity holds true also of the conception of solidarity. The forms of modern controversy, and, in some measure, the conditions of modern life, have put it out of sight. Yet it is this idea, perhaps, more than any other, which is needed to restore hope in the face of some of the most pressing difficulties which are created by the contemplation of a humanity fatally divided, as it seems to us, by intellectual, moral, and social barriers. The Epistle to the Ephesians and the writings of St. John open out views of the inter-dependence of men and societies, which show how completely these latest wants of time are anticipated in Christianity; and in the face of these revelations it seems almost incredible that the infirmities of Christians could ever have given occasion to opponents to stigmatize their faith as egotistic. Yet this has been done, and it is difficult now to recover the vantage-ground which has been lost.

Till lately a similar remark might have been made on the supposed incompatibility of the Christian religion with the vigorous prosecution of the ordinary business of the world; but so

much has been said and written in the last few years on the relation of Christianity to "common life," that it would be superfluous to show the capacity of Christian faith to take account of and to ennoble all our material interests. Nothing else, indeed, can give to them the dignity which that gives by imparting to each an element of infinity. The rapid acceptance of this view is full of encouragement. The ideal of Christianity, typified and potentially assured in the Resurrection, which consists in the complete consecration of every permanent element of human power and life, and presents the richest conception of an all-embracing unity by the most complete specialization of the functions of the constituent parts, is yet far removed from experience or theory. But as, individually and nationally, diversity is now recognized as a condition of harmony—and no one would willingly aim at dwarfing or mutilating our social capacities by enforcing the adoption of a single form of action or government—so there are signs of the extension of a corresponding law to the higher phenomena of spiritual life. And in this respect the works of a philosopher like Comte, while they are professedly hostile to Christianity, really throw fresh light upon its universality. By a mode of criticism which no Christian could follow, a cold judge points out the successive offices and failures of Christian organizations, and, at the same time, by analyzing the wants of man in the various relations of his complex life, unconsciously shows that the apostolic Gospel has yet the power to meet them. In this manner he delivers the last "testimony of the soul, naturally Christian." From without he can see what cannot be seen from within.

It would be easy to illustrate these statements from Comte's theory and constitution of his new religion. In that, his recognition of the personal, social, and human principles, which Christianity enforces, is even more marked than in his historical discussion of the phases of religious progress. But to enter upon this new subject would be to undertake another essay. It must be enough for the present to have pointed out that the boldest analysis of the past reveals not, as has been supposed, the transitoriness of Christianity, but its divine power to satisfy and to anticipate the latest wants of man and of society.

Brooke F. Westcott.

VII.—REVISION OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION.*

It is with the earnest desire that argument may speedily lead to action, that we now propose to handle the important subject of Bible revision. This is a question which has already been amply discussed, and we can scarcely hope to say anything regarding it which has not been touched upon by some of our predecessors. But, while the necessity for revision has been clearly evinced by many writers, there has not as yet been such an impression produced on the mind of the community at large as to lead to any national procedure by which the work required to be done may be accomplished. Individual scholars have made several valuable contributions to the object in contemplation; but it is obvious, on a moment's reflection, that no one man, or body of men, restricted to some special school or section of the Church, can ever produce a revised translation of the Bible which will be generally accepted in place of the present authorized version. Such a result can be reached only through the united labors of many scholars connected with the various branches of the Christian Church in our land [and in the United States], who meet together by the general assent of all parties, and whose work will command general respect and acceptance. That, and nothing less, is the end at which the friends of revision must aim. And it is with the view of doing our part in leading to this great step, without further unnecessary delay, that we now direct the attention of our readers to the subject.

Not a little has been gained of late years by the labors of many learned and orthodox writers in connection with this question. One fruit of these has been, that few, if any, who

* From the *British Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1870.

have the least pretensions to scholarship, now make a serious attempt to defend our English version as it stands. Nor need any imputations of heresy or infidelity now be feared by those who venture to raise their voices in favor of improvement. The sentimental effusions which were indulged in by the opponents of change some twelve or twenty years ago, as well as the innuendoes which were then pretty freely directed against the advocates of revision, are things of which almost every one would now feel ashamed. Men whose learning and faith both stand so high, have proclaimed their conviction of the necessity which exists for bringing up our English version of Scripture to the present level of Biblical knowledge with such emphasis, and have given such abundant reasons for the opinion thus expressed, that argument of any kind from the other side has well nigh ceased to be heard. The *vis inertiæ* is almost all that now requires to be overcome. And if it can be shown, as we think may easily be done, that to rest satisfied with our English Bible in its present state, is to be unfaithful to the advantages with which God in his providence has favored us, is to obscure the light of divine truth which should shine in every poor man's dwelling, and is to furnish the popular infidelity of our day with some of its most effective weapons, then may we hope that the conscience of our nation will be aroused, and that we shall allow ourselves no rest, till the reproach of indifference and inactivity with respect to this great question has been removed.

In entering on the subject, some general remarks applicable to both the Old and the New Testaments may first be made. And we would begin by simply reminding our readers that a period of very nearly two hundred and sixty years has now elapsed since the present authorized version was formed. Does not the realization of the fact lead us at once to expect that by this time there must be urgent need for a revision? For, have no changes taken place in the meaning of words since then? Have no advances been made in the science of sacred philology? Have no new manuscripts been brought to light, which enable us, with greater certainty, to fix the words of our inspired text? Let us look for a little at the answers to be given to these questions.

As to the first of them, every one knows how great are the changes which have taken place in the English language since the days of James I. Both in regard to the meaning of individual words, and the laws which bind them together, the English tongue is now very different from what it was when employed by our translators, and as it appears in the extant writings of their contemporaries. The lines of Horace express a universal truth when he says—

> "Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
> Prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
> Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque."

In accordance with the principle thus stated, we might bring forward many expressions from the English Bible, which have either become obsolete in the sense in which they were employed by the translators, or which may suggest at the present day a meaning even the very reverse of that which they intended. To the former class belong such terms as "prevent" in the sense of "anticipate," "conversation" in the sense of "conduct," "instantly" in the sense of "earnestly," etc.; while, of the latter class, we find a remarkable example in the use of the word "let" in the sense of "hinder," a meaning which it never has in any modern English writer. It is perfectly obvious then, that, whatever may be thought of the importance of the fact (a point to be afterward considered), our language is now very different from what it was when the authorized version was formed; and, in the habitual use of the pronoun "his" with reference to inanimate objects, as well as of "which" when the antecedent is a person, we find proof that the grammar of the language has also, since that date, undergone some very considerable alterations.

The second question suggested will, in like manner, admit of only one, and a very decided answer. Sacred philology has made immense strides since the days of our translators. The Hebrew language and its cognate dialects have been studied with great diligence by many eminent scholars, and light has thus been thrown on numerous passages in the Old Testament, which in the authorized version are either erroneous or obscure. The Greek language also has been investigated with much greater nicety and fullness than had been done at the date of

our translation; and the laws which regulate its use of the article, and its employment of tenses, are now far better understood. In short, the mass of valuable criticism bearing on the Sacred Scriptures, which has accumulated in the course of the last two centuries and a half, is almost incalculable. Yet, as long as our English Bible remains what it is, all the advances which have been made in sacred scholarship count (so far as the community at large is concerned) for little or nothing. Science and art are continually adding to the material comforts in which all classes share. No one would venture for a moment to speak of going back to the times of James I. in regard to the comforts, appliances or habits of our daily life. But that is what we practically do in reference to the Bible, so long as it is generally known only through the pages of the authorized version. And yet it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, that Biblical criticism in general is as far in advance of what it was when that version was made, as our modes of traveling at the present day are superior to those of the seventeenth century.

The third question which was proposed must receive an almost startling reply. It is a literal fact, that all the manuscripts of the New Testament, to which critics now attach the highest value, have been discovered since the date of our authorized version. It is well known to every one that has looked into the subject, that the received Greek text itself, which formed the basis of our English Bible, rests upon the very slenderest authority. It is now universally discarded by Biblical scholars. No critical commentary on any of the books of Scripture issues from the press without being based on a purer text than it supplies. And no wonder that this should be the case. Erasmus and his followers, through whose labors what is known as the *Textus Receptus* was formed, had but a few modern manuscripts to consult in preparing their editions of the New Testament. They used such as happened to be within their reach, and these were of a character on which no great reliance could be placed. To illustrate how meagre were the resources of Erasmus, it may be mentioned that he had only a single manuscript of the Apocalypse, and that even the one which he possessed was not complete. A part of the New

Testament would thus have been altogether wanting in his first edition, had he not ventured to supply it by translation from the Latin. He took the Vulgate and re-translated it into Greek, so that in the ordinary, uncritical editions of the Greek New Testament at the present day, there are words still existing, which, so far from resting on any original authority, or having any claim to be regarded as inspired, were plainly and confessedly inserted by mere conjecture. Now, contrast with the paucity of resources thus possessed by those who settled the Greek text from which our authorized version was made, the comparative affluence of materials in our hands at the present day. We have no fewer than five manuscripts of the highest class, which were altogether unknown to Western Europe in the days of our translators. There is the Alexandrian manuscript (A), presented in 1628, by Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Charles I., and now preserved in the British Museum. It belongs to a date about the middle of the fifth century. There is the Vatican manuscript (B), belonging to the Pope, and preserved in the Vatican library at Rome. Little is known of its external history. It is certain that for the last four hundred years it has been among the Papal treasures; but how it was procured, or whence it came, no one has been able to determine. Scholars are agreed, however, that it is probably a century at least older than the Alexandrian manuscript. There is the "Codex Ephraemi" (C), preserved in the *Bibliotheque Impériale* of Paris. It is a palimpsest, that is, a manuscript containing two different works, the one written over the other. Owing to the scarcity and high price of parchment, it was not unusual for writers in the middle ages to have recourse to such an expedient. Often, in this way, did they sacrifice some valuable work, in order to find material on which to inscribe a monkish legend, or an ecclesiastical writing of very secondary importance. In the present case one of the writings of the Syrian hymnologist and theologian, Ephraem, had been chosen to overlay and conceal the text of the New Testament. The manuscript undoubtedly belongs to a date not much, if anything, below the early part of the fifth century. There is yet another manuscript of the first class, which it is the honor of our country to possess,—that known as the "Codex

Bezæ" (D), and is preserved in the University of Cambridge. As its name indicates, this manuscript was formerly the property of the celebrated reformer Beza, and was, in the year 1581, presented by him to the academic body who still possess it. Only the Gospels and Acts, in Greek and Latin, on opposite pages, are contained in it, and many manifest corruptions and interpolations have been introduced into its text. Still, from its undoubted antiquity, it has strong claims on the attention of Biblical critics, being pretty generally assigned to the sixth century. And, finally, there is the "Codex Sinaiticus," the recent great discovery of Tischendorf. This is one of the most valuable ancient copies of the Greek New Testament. It is, perhaps, nearly as old as the Vatican manuscript,* and it has the great advantage over that and all the other most ancient codices, of being complete. The Alexandrian manuscript is defective throughout the greater part of Matthew's gospel, and also in several other places; the Vatican manuscript wants the Epistle to Philemon, the Pastoral Epistles, the latter part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse; the "Codex Ephraemi" is still more defective; and the "Codex Bezæ" contains only, as has been remarked, the Gospels and Acts; but the "Codex Sinaiticus" comprises the whole of the New Testament, as well as some of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. Every internal mark presented by this manuscript points, in the estimation of the most eminent palæographers, to the fourth or fifth century as the time when it was written. Moreover, besides these manuscripts of the first order and highest authority, an immense number of later copies, more or less valuable, have been discovered and collected since the Greek text, on which our authorized version is based, was issued to the world.

Such, then, are the answers which must be given to the queries above suggested. And now we have to inquire more particularly what arguments they furnish in favor of revision: are the changes necessitated in the English Bible, by the ampler supply of materials for fixing the original texts, by the

* We observe that Tischendorf, in the Introduction to his "English New Testament," claims precedence, in point of date, for the "Codex Sinaiticus" over the "Codex Vaticanus:" but we much doubt if scholars in general are prepared to acquiesce in such a conclusion.

onward march of sacred criticism, and by the obscurities or perplexities caused by antiquated and obsolete expressions, so important as to justify and call for a revision of our authorized version? It shall now be our business to show cause why we give to each of these questions a decidedly affirmative reply.

As to the text: we do by no means wish to disparage what is known as the *Textus Receptus.* On the contrary, considering when and how it was formed, it excites our deepest wonder and admiration. We cannot but regard it as a kind of Providential miracle. God has never interfered with human liberty, yet it is impossible to look back on the history of the Bible, and more specially as connected with the point now referred to, without being struck by the manner in which He has continually watched over His own holy word. We may truly and thankfully say, that He led Erasmus and those that followed him in a way which they knew not; so as to secure a substantial accuracy in those transcripts of the New Testament which they presented to the world.

But having said thus much, we must add that, in our estimation, it is positively disgraceful to make no advance upon this work at the present day. If any of our readers will open the interesting edition of the New Testament by Tischendorf, in which various readings from the three oldest manuscripts are given, they will see that there is not a single page in which the reading of our authorized version does not, in numerous instances, differ from that sanctioned by these manuscripts. The changes suggested may, in most cases, appear insignificant, but nothing is really insignificant that tends to secure the greater purity of God's blessed word. And since he has been graciously pleased, in these later times, to furnish us with means which men of former days did not possess, of making a closer approach to the *ipsissima verba* of inspiration, it must argue an undutiful and ungrateful spirit, if we should neglect to employ them. Shall we not, with reverent hand, do what we can to remove the dust which, in the course of ages, has settled down on the precious jewel of sacred truth? Shall we not rejoice to restore to it, as far as lies in our power, its original resplendence? Or, will any one say that no effort should be put forth with this end in view, because, forsooth, the beauty of the gem

can still be perceived, and because its substantial value would not be affected by any changes in its aspect that might be made?

But the fact is, that there are important alterations which require to be introduced into the text. Almost every one now admits that the famous text of the heavenly witnesses (1 John 5, 7) has no right whatever to a place in Scripture. It does not appear in a single Greek manuscript before the sixteenth century; it is wanting in all the ancient versions, and is not alluded to by any of the early Fathers. On every ground of criticism, it must therefore be regarded as an interpolation. So it was deemed by Erasmus, and was omitted in his first two editions. A vehement clamor having been raised against him for thus honestly printing the text of Scripture as he found it in the best authorities to which he could appeal, he unfortunately promised to insert the passage if a single Greek manuscript could be discovered containing it. One such was at last produced (the "Codex Montfortianus," belonging to Trinity College, Dublin); and Erasmus accordingly restored the text in his later editions, whence it found its way into our authorized version. But it is now the settled conclusion of criticism that, in the few Greek manuscripts which contain it, this passage is a translation from the Latin, and had, in the interests of orthodoxy, been foisted into the sacred text. It found, however, many zealous defenders in the last century. A considerable library might be formed of the volumes and pamphlets which have been published for and against it, though there has hardly been any argument produced in its favor, except the apparent value which the verse possesses, as embodying a statement of the doctrine of the Trinity. This is one of the cases in which not a few Protestant writers have been too ready to imitate the conduct of many Papists, in preferring seeming expediency to truth. They have clung to this passage as a bulwark against Socinianism, while, by so doing, they have only enabled the enemy to triumph in the implied confession thus made of the weakness of their cause. Truth in every thing must at last prevail; and as surely as the first verse of St. John's Gospel, which contains such an illustrious testimony to our Saviour's deity, is genuine, so surely is this verse a forgery, and

ought never to be quoted or referred to, as possessed of the authority of the Word of God. Every one who knows the history of the passage must feel pained so long as it continues to be read as inspired Scripture; and one of the most certain gains to be anticipated in a revised version of the English Bible is, that this hurtful interpolation would disappear for ever.

The same fate would most likely attend Acts 8, 37. That verse is wanting in every one of the ancient manuscripts, and in the great majority of others. The probability is that it was inserted from one of the ancient baptismal formularies. Some such liturgical confession as it contains came at an early date to be made by the applicant for baptism, and hence the verse seems to have crept into the sacred text. The most weighty evidence in its favor is, that it is found in Irenaeus; but we can far more easily believe that, even before his time, such an interpolation may have found its way into some copies of the New Testament, than that, had the passage been genuine, it would have been dropped by almost all the ancient authorities to which we can appeal at the present day.

There can be little doubt, also, but that the story of the angel (John 5, 3, 4) in the waiting for the moving of the water: "For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water; whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had" would disappear from a revised version of the New Testament. The passage is omitted entirely by Cod. Sin. B. C. D., and appears in very varying forms in the manuscripts which possess it. The likelihood is, that it was a marginal gloss, which, at a very early date, was introduced into the text, and which explained the account by a reference to a popular Jewish belief on the subject. Tertullian seems to have read the passage as it now stands; but other early evidence in its favor is wanting. Critics are now nearly unanimous in rejecting it, as an interpolation; and every one will feel that the sacred text is relieved of not a little difficulty by its being expunged.

These are a few specimens of omissions from the received text which would almost certainly be made in any revision of the New Testament. There are several other passages, of considerable length and importance, respecting the genuineness of

which critical opinion is somewhat as yet divided. To these belong the doxology of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6, 13), the concluding portion of Mark's Gospel (16, 9–20), and the story of the woman taken in adultery (John 7, 53–8, 1–11). It does not fall within our province, at this time, to discuss the arguments either for or against these passages; we would only remark in passing, that in our judgment, there has been an undue tendency displayed of late by many textual critics to attach an almost exclusive authority to the most ancient extant manuscripts simply as such. Tischendorf has taken only the three oldest into account, in the variations from the received text, which he has appended to his recent edition of the English New Testament. Alford, too, has adopted some readings which appear exceedingly improbable, simply because they are found in the most ancient diplomatic authorities. And some more popular writers have expressed themselves to the effect that such passages as those above referred to are undoubtedly spurious, merely because they do not occur in the three crucial manuscripts specially noticed by Tischendorf. Now, it appears to us that this mode of procedure, in seeking to determine the true text of Scripture, is not a safe one. It is most important, in dealing with this subject, to take full advantage of all the sources of evidence to which we have access. We know so little of the history of the few very ancient manuscripts which we possess, that these may, after all, only represent a recension of the text formed under peculiar influences, and circulating within a limited locality. We ought, then, to take a survey of the whole field of evidence, before displacing readings which have already been accepted. The ancient versions—some of which are centuries older than our most authoritative manuscripts—should receive the most careful attention. Nor ought the cursives to be passed over so unceremoniously as has recently been done. It should be remembered that a manuscript, which is very confidently, on palæographic grounds, assigned for instance to the twelfth century, may, nevertheless, have been copied from one belonging to a very early period of our era. Internal reasons, which may sometimes be discovered for the omission of passages, should also have their full weight assigned them. When Augustine, for example, tells us that

the narrative in John's Gospel, as to the woman taken in adultery, was left out in some copies of the New Testament made before his day, lest it should be supposed to grant a license to sin, he mentions a point worthy of the most careful consideration. These, and other such matters, would of course require and receive the earnest attention of any body of revisers that might be appointed. And, we cannot doubt that, under God's guidance and blessing, such an assemblage of Biblical scholars would, by their joint and long-sustained labors, be enabled to settle satisfactorily many questions that are now the cause of great perplexity to individual critics.

As might have been expected, a much greater tendency has been shown by transcribers to add to the sacred text than to subtract from it. Omission, therefore, would on the whole, mark the revised text. But some exceptions would be found. We should, for instance, receive as undoubtedly genuine, the latter half of 1 John 2, 23, which is, in our English version, branded as suspicious: it is contained in every one of the ancient authorities, and furnishes a very satisfactory equivalent for the loss of 1 John 5, 7. Probably, too, we should read at Eph. 6, 9, for these words of the common text, "knowing that your Master also is in heaven," the fuller reading, sanctioned by all the three oldest manuscripts, "knowing that both their master and yours is in heaven." Some slight, but interesting, changes in the meaning would also be introduced. Thus, in Jude, verse 1, instead of "to them that are *sanctified* by God the Father," all the most ancient manuscripts have "to them that are *beloved* by God the Father;" and this reading possesses the weighty suffrage of the Syriac Peshito version. On the other hand, some alterations must be made, which would naturally give rise to regret. Thus, at 1 Peter 3, 8, we are compelled to discard the beautiful precept of the English version, "be courteous," for the less striking, "be humble," of all the ancient manuscripts. Still greater regret would be felt in resigning the reading of the common text at Luke 2, 14, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men," for "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men of good pleasure," found in the three oldest manuscripts. But for our own part, we are by no means prepared as yet to accept

this alteration. The Syriac version is decidedly in favor of the received text, and it is supported by many other weighty authorities. We are, therefore, sorry to find that Alford has departed from it, and adopted the rival reading which has been mentioned. His mode of acting, in reference to this passage, seems to exemplify, in a somewhat striking manner, the tendency, which we have already alluded to, of yielding everything to the ancient manuscripts. In his note on the passage, as we find it in the third edition of his New Testament, he says: "The reading εὐδοκίας which would destroy the whole structure of the parallelism, is of very insufficient authority, but has been rendered famous by its adoption in the Vulgate, and consequently by the Romish Church." Yet, in his recent revised translation of the New Testament, he has adopted the reading thus condemned, simply on the ground of its existence in the earliest manuscripts. It is, no doubt, to the Dean's honor that he is thus ready to modify or reverse opinions formerly expressed, when more complete evidence is set before him; and we cannot but rejoice that he is not now so much influenced by subjective considerations as appeared in his first editions. But, as we have ventured to suggest, there is danger of rushing to the opposite extreme. In accordance with the tendency referred to, we observe that Alford now accepts at Rom 5, 1 the reading ἔχωμεν "let us have" although he formerly wrote in the strongest terms against it, and in favor of the reading ἔχομεν "we have," of the common text. We profess, ourselves, indeed, quite unable to discover the principle on which Dean Alford has proceeded in forming the Greek text from which his recent revised translation of the New Testament has been made. It is clear enough that, for the most part, he defers greatly to the authority of the ancient manuscripts, and as we humbly think, often without reason. But he inserts Luke 23, 34, although both Cod. Sin. and B. omit the verse; and he gives no hint to his readers that these great authorities are here against him. Conversely, he leaves out the words "in the Hebrew tongue," at John 20, 16; nor does he notice the fact that the term there occurs in both the oldest manuscripts, and is also represented in the Syriac version, so as to have the strongest claim to be admitted into the text.

The above remarks have been made principally with the view of illustrating what we conceive to be the only satisfac-

tory mode of fixing an improved text, on which to base a revised version of the English New Testament. There must be no slavish adherence to the authority of three or four ancient manuscripts. The whole mass of evidence must be fairly taken into account; and where there is not strongly preponderating testimony in favor of change, no alteration should be made. It cannot be doubted that, with respect to not a few passages, all candid minds would admit the necessity of correction. But there are many readings which have of late been adopted on the authority merely of those few manuscripts of the fourth or fifth century which have come down to us, that are opposed to the text suggested by the most ancient versions, and to that contained in the vast majority of existing manuscripts; and in such cases we believe that the safe course is to abide by the text as it stands. We cannot, for example, agree to surrender Mark 16, 9–20, as no part of the original Gospel, when we find it in the Peshito version, as well as in the great majority of manuscripts, simply because it is wanting in Cod. Sin. and B. The settlement of the text would certainly be one of the most difficult tasks connected with a revised version of the New Testament. But one great guiding principle should be, to use the utmost caution in sanctioning either omission or alterations. Only where a pretty near approach to certainty could be made, should any deviations from the common text be admitted; and thus real gain would be secured, while possible loss would be avoided. The judgment of intelligent readers would be satisfied by the reasons adduced for any changes which were made; while no one would be startled by any passage being expunged or altered, except under the pressure of a stringent and generally acknowledged necessity. To show the need of such caution, we may add, as a further and remarkable illustration of that rash tampering with the received text which has recently prevailed, that Tischendorf has adopted as the true reading at Luke 8, 40, on the *sole authority* of the Codex Sinaiticus, *Θεόν* for *αὐτον*. Accordingly, we have in Ainslie's version, "All were expecting *the God*," for "they were all waiting for him," as it occurs in the authorized translation.

As to the text of the Old Testament, much less trouble would be experienced. Thanks to the scrupulous and even

superstitious care of "our librarians," the Jews, that has come down to us in a state of wonderful accuracy. But still there are improvements which might be made. Though we have no manuscripts of the Old Testament nearly so ancient as are some of the New, yet, by the good providence of God, there are several means in our possession for testing and correcting the Hebrew text. Among these may be named the various Targums, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and, above all, the Septuagint version of the whole Old Testament formed some centuries before the birth of Christ. Now, there is one remarkable passage, at least, in which an omission occurs in the Hebrew text that ought to be supplied from the authorities which have been mentioned. We refer to Gen. 4, 8, where we read, in the English version, "and Cain talked with Abel his brother; and it came to pass when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him." This verse doubtless, reads smoothly enough and seems to require no supplement to complete the sense. But that is the result of sheer and willful mistranslation. The word rendered "talked" occurs thousands of times in the Hebrew text, and is in this passage only so translated. It manifestly ought to have had the simple meaning of "said" assigned it; and the passage should run, "And Cain said to Abel his brother." But then, *what* did he say? Nothing, so far as we can gather from the Hebrew, but the Greek version, sanctioned by the Samaritan, enables us to supplement as follows:—"And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go into the field; and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him." There can be no doubt, also, that a wide field for correction is found in the numerical statements of the Old Testament. As is well known, the chronology of the Hebrew text in Genesis differs widely from that of both the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch. Nor could the case have been otherwise, without a standing miracle. The addition or removal of a small point will, in some cases alter by hundreds or thousands the numerical value of a Hebrew letter. And there is every reason to believe that some of those startling rows of figures which have of late years been paraded as casting discredit on the Pentateuch, really rest on no better founda-

tion than is furnished by the occurrence of such mistakes. Several of the Old Testament books, moreover, such as Jeremiah, are in a state of great confusion, as respects the arrangement of the chapters; while throughout the whole of them, the *Keri* or marginal reading, is very often to be preferred to the *Kethibh*, which is accepted as correct. And thus, in regard to both Testaments, much advantage is certainly to be gained by that pains-taking, scholarly, and reverent investigation of their respective texts, which would, as a matter of necessity, be the very first step towards the production of a revised and improved translation.

The next department of our argument is that which bears upon the connection of positive mistranslations, in our existing version. A very wide field here opens before us, and we can give only a cursory glance at some of the most prominent points which attract our eye in surveying it. We shall bring forward a few specimens of erroneous rendering from both the Old and New Testaments, simply with the view of indicating how strong is the demand for revision, which may, on this ground, be addressed to the conscience and intelligence of our country.

As respects the Old Testament, we are at a loss what portions of it to select for animadversion. If we look to the Pentateuch, we find the many natural history terms which it contains very largely misunderstood; and in the translation of the Hebrew verb *shaal* by "borrow" (Exod. 3, 22; 11, 2; 12, 35) we encounter a grievous error, on which infidelity has eagerly seized, and which has often been made the basis of an attack on the morality of the Old Testament. The real meaning of the word is simply "ask" or "demand" (Sept., αἰτήσει) as in Ps. 2, 8, no idea of future restitution being suggested, as is done by the term employed in our English version. There is, also, a well-known and serious error at Exod. 34, 33. We there read in the authorized version, "And *till* Moses had done speaking with them, he put a veil on his face." But the proper supplement is "when" instead of "till," Moses being unveiled while speaking with the people, and when he ceased, putting the veil again upon his face. This is the clear meaning of the Hebrew text, and is brought out in the Septuagint translation

(ἐπειδή, &c.). It is also demanded by the reasoning of St. Paul on the passage (2 Cor. 3, 13), and the proper rendering puts an end to a difficulty which is otherwise insurmountable. If, again, we turn to the poetical or prophetical books, we find many passages totally unintelligible as they stand in our authorized version, but which shine forth with striking clearness and beauty when the real import of the original is elicited. Time would fail us to go through the different books, and point out the obscurities or errors with which they abound. But to narrow the field and attach greater definiteness to our remarks, let us select a particular book for a little special examination; and perhaps we could find no other that would serve our purpose better than the book of Job.

Even as exhibited in the authorized version, this book must be felt by every careful and intelligent reader to be a wonderfully interesting and sublime production. But there are hundreds of beauties which it contains that are utterly lost to an English reader, through the defectiveness of our translation. It is not too much to say that several of its verses, as they stand in our Bible, are simple nonsense. Who can attach any meaning, for instance, to these words in Chap. 36, 33, "The noise thereof sheweth concerning it, the cattle also concerning the vapor," or trace any connection between the two clauses of Chap. 39, 22, "Fair weather cometh out of the north: with God is terrible majesty." The whole concluding part of Elihu's speech is, indeed, grievously bungled in our version. There is completely hidden from an ordinary reader the fact, that it contains probably the earliest description of a thunder storm to be found in all literature. As he speaks, Elihu perceives those clouds gathering, from the depths of which the voice of Jehovah is soon to be heard; and in that portion of his speech which extends from Chap. 36, 29 to Chap. 37, 5, he expresses the feelings which that spectacle excited within him, as follows:—

> "Who, again, can understand the outspreading of the clouds,
> And the fearful thunderings in his pavilion?
> Behold! He flashes his lightnings over it,
> And covereth the depths of the sea.
> For by these (agencies) He executeth judgment to the people:
> By these also he provideth food in abundance.
> With his hands he covereth the lightning,
> And commandeth it where to strike.

He pointeth out to it His friends.
His wrath collects over the wicked.
At this also my heart palpitates,
And is moved out of its place.
Hear, O hear, the thunder of His voice,
The muttering thunder goes forth from His mouth!
He directeth it under the whole heaven,
He (scattereth) the lightnings to the ends of the (earth).
After it a voice roareth;
He thundereth with the voice of His glory:
He will not restrain the tempest when that voice is heard.
God thundereth marvellously with His voice:
He doeth wonders which we cannot comprehend."

And now the Almighty draws nearer and nearer in that dark pavilion, lighted up from time to time with the most brilliant flashes, about to interpose and put an end to the long discussion. As the solemn scene fixes their gaze on the heavens, as the dark cloud, on the bosom of which the lightning plays, is seen to gather over them, as the living fire leaps forth from the heart of that terrible canopy, and the roar of the thunder almost instantaneously afterwards shakes the solid ground, a deep awe falls upon all the spectators, and Elihu concludes with these abrupt, confused, agitated, but all the more suggestive words:—

"And now men cannot look at the splendor which is on the clouds,
For the wind sweeps along and brightens them,
Glory as of gold approaches from the north;
With God is terrible majesty!
The Almighty! We cannot find Him out:
Vast in power and judgment, and abundant in righteousness,
He will not oppress.
Men should therefore stand in awe of Him;
He regardeth not any that are wise in heart."

If our readers will take the trouble of comparing this translation, which we believe to be a tolerably fair representation of the original, with that contained in the authorized version, we think they will feel that not a little has been gained in point of clearness and impression. Nor is there, perhaps, a single chapter in the whole book of Job which does not furnish passages capable of similar improvement. Did space permit, we should find it an easy task to cite several verses, which, as given in our English Bible, would require an Œdipus to explain them, but which become transparent and beautiful as crystal

when adequately rendered into our language. It is true that there are some passages about the exact meaning of which eminent Hebraists are not yet agreed; but a large number of emendations have been proposed, which have obtained the general consent of scholars, and would unquestionably be adopted by any board of competent revisers. Moreover, it may be well believed that such a body of learned men would themselves make advances on all their predecessors. We look forward, indeed, with confident and rejoicing anticipation, to receiving a *new Bible* in many parts, from the hands of that Royal Commission which will, we trust, ere long be appointed to deal with this momentous subject. Not, we need scarcely say, that any new doctrines will be discovered, nor any modifications of the old ones found necessary, but not a few passages, which are now almost meaningless, will acquire a rich and most attractive significance. There are portions of the poetical and prophetical books which are at present a dead letter to the English reader, that will be felt instinct with life and beauty when properly translated; and there are some puzzling verses in Ecclesiastes, seemingly isolated, incongruous or unmeaning, that need only to be accurately and skilfully rendered, in order to be felt most suggestive in themselves, and most admirably harmonious with the whole scope and purpose of that remarkable book.

Turning now to the New Testament, we find few such glaring mistakes as those which occur so frequently in our authorized version of the Hebrew Scriptures. Yet there is probably not a single chapter—and in several chapters not a single verse—in which some improvement, acquiesced in by all scholars, would not be made. It is, of course, quite impossible that within our brief limits we should refer to a tenth or hundredth part of those that might be mentioned. All that we can do is to bring forward a few specimens of two or three classes of errors, and append some remarks, which, in our judgment should be kept in view by all who engage in the work of revising and correcting our English translation of the New Testament.

There are, then, some positive blunders, acknowledged by all as existing in the authorized version. One of the most obvious of these is that which occurs at Acts 3, 19, where we read, "Repent ye therefore, and be converted that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the

presence of the Lord." It is perfectly impossible that ὅπως ἄν followed, as it is here, by the subjunctive, can have the meaning of "when" assigned it by our translators. Nor does Mr. Ainslie* at all mend the matter when he renders the words thus: "Whenever the times of refreshment may come." The only accurate translation is that of Dean Alford, who gives the verse as follows:—"Repent ye therefore, and turn you, that your sins may be blotted out, that the times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord." This is a very important correction, and gives a completion to the passage quite different from that which it has in our version. That such is the case will be felt by every one on turning to the original, and noticing that the next verse also is still under the regimen of ὅπως ἄν ("and that he may send"), the repentance and conversion of the Jews being thus closely connected with the coming of those "times of refreshing," often adverted to in Scripture, and with the next "sending forth of Christ by the Father, a point wholly missed in our authorized version. Turning to 1 Thess. 5, 22, we find the oft-quoted precept, "Abstain from all appearance of evil." But it is perfectly certain that this is not the meaning of the original. The word εἶδος never signifies "appearance," in the sense here attached to that expression; and the true rendering is "Abstain from every kind of evil." The best of men will often feel it their duty to act in a manner which may have an *appearance* of evil and which admits of being misrepresented and misconstrued. And the Apostle says no word to dishearten them in such painful circumstances, but simply urges them to beware of *real* evil, in the many forms in which that exists in in the world. Again, at 1 Tim. 6, 5, we read, "Supposing that gain is godliness," words which, taken as they stand, seem to indicate a stretch of fancy which it is extremely difficult to comprehend. The real meaning is, "Supposing that godliness is gain,"—that is, a means of securing worldly advantage: whereas the Apostle points exclusively to the spiritual benefits which true piety secures when he adds, "But godliness with with contentment, is great gain." To refer to only one other passage under this head, it may be noticed that the meaning of Heb. 12, 1 is utterly confounded by the misplacement of the par-

* *The New Testament, translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf*, London.

ticle "also." Our version makes the argument of the sacred writer consist in the idea that we, *as well as* the ancient believers, are compassed about by a great cloud of witnesses. "Wherefore seeing we also," &c.; whereas, it is evident that his exhortation is to the effect that, seeing we are compassed about by that great company of saints to whom he has referred, we too, should, like them, perseveringly pursue the course which leads to heaven:—"Wherefore, seeing that we are compassed about by so great a cloud of witnesses, let us also (τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς) run &c.

Far more numerous are the cases in which our authorized version, without being positively erroneous, is an inadequate or unsuitable representation of the original. Distinctions between words in the Greek are often obliterated in English, where it is important that they should have been retained. Thus is it sometimes with γίνομαι as differing from εἰμι. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the two words are often equivalent in meaning, and we regret some rather fantastic attempts which have recently been made always to discriminate them. Thus, at John 20, 27, we have seen the Saviour's exhortation to Thomas —μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος—rendered "*Become* not faithless," a version which entirely misses, or rather perverts the import of the passage. Still, the fundamental distinction between the two verbs should constantly be kept in view, and where it seems marked in the original, ought to be carefully brought out in the translation. An example occurs at John 8, 58, where the γενέσθαι applied to the creature is evidently contrasted with the sublime εἰμι assumed by the Creator; and the passage might be more adequately translated than it is in our version as follows:—"Before Abraham had a being, I am," or as Alford gives it "Before Abraham was made, I am." We cannot dwell at any length on several other important distinctions which are effaced in the English version, though always preserved in the original. It may simply be notice that the difference between γέεννα and ᾅδης, words indiscriminately represented by "hell" in our authorized version, ought in every case to be brought out. The former term invariably denotes the place of the lost, while the latter simply means the invisible world, or that state in which the souls both of the righteous and the wicked exist between death and the resurrection. The essential distinction between the

import of the two words would be easily and effectively indicated by restricting the term "hell" to the first, while "hades" was naturalized in our language as the representative of the second. We must also notice under this head how clamant is the necessity that the distinction between ζῶον and θηρίον should be brought out in the book of Revelation. The term "beasts," by which the former word is translated, almost makes one shudder on hearing it, and is very commonly exchanged in reading for the far more correct rendering, "living beings," or "living creatures." We confess to not liking the practice of quietly correcting the authorized version in the pulpit or reading desk; but, in this case, the word made use of in our translation is so revolting when thought of in connection with the heavenly beings to whom it refers, as abundantly to justify the alteration so generally made. The same practice of quiet correction is generally and properly followed at 1 Cor. 11, 29. It is impossible to calculate the amount of mischief which has been done by the terrific expression "damnation" there found in the authorized version. And if a revision accomplished nothing else than getting rid in this passage of that dreadful and unwarrantable term, unspeakable gain would be secured.

As other well-known instances of unsuitable rendering, we may refer to Acts 17, 22 and Phil. 2, 6. In the former passage, the translation of δεισιδαιμονεστέρους by "too superstitious" is very unfortunate. The Apostle was by far too prudent to begin his address to the Athenians with an epithet of reproach. The term he employs rather includes a compliment, and ought to be rendered "more than usually religious," or, as Alford has it, "very religious." In the latter passage, again, "robbery" is generally admitted to be an inappropriate translation of ἁρπαγμόν. The word is, no doubt, a difficult one, but the context seems pretty clearly to suggest the meaning which should be assigned it. The Apostle is dilating on the sublime self-sacrifice of Christ; and among other things, he says, that though our Lord "existed in the form of God, he did not think it ἁρπαγμόν to be equal with God, but, emptied himself," etc. Now, the antithetical form of expression here employed clearly suggests to our mind such a rendering of the term as "He

did not deem it *a thing to be clung to* to be equal with God." Accordingly, Alford translates it "a thing to grasp at," and Ellicott "a prize to be seized on," meanings closely allied to that which we have suggested. It is also remarkable how often the renderings placed in the margin of the authorized version are superior to those adopted in the text. Thus, at Matt. 5, 21, etc., "to them" is the only proper rendering; at John 16, 8, "convince" is manifestly preferable to "reprove;" and at Heb. 2, 16, "he taketh not hold of angels" is a far more correct version than "he took not on him the nature of angels." At Luke 23, 15, the words ought clearly to be rendered, "nothing worthy of death has been done *by* him," instead of the unmeaning "*unto* him" of the common version.

Turning now to a somewhat different yet nearly-related part of our subject, we have to glance at those changes which require to be made in the rendering of the Greek article, some tenses of the verb, and one or two prepositions. That there is here a wide field for improvement admits of no doubt; but that, at the same time, change has been recently carried to a very baneful extreme in dealing with these points, we are deeply convinced, and shall do our best in the sequel to show. We begin, however, by noticing some cases in which alteration is undoubtedly required, and consequent gain would be secured.

It is, for instance, a clear and certain loss that the article which is found in the Greek at John 3, 10, has not been represented in English. Our Lord asks Nicodemus, "Art thou *the teacher* of Israel?" ὁ διδάσκαλος and it is unquestionably a pity that the indefinite expression, "a teacher," should have been adopted for this in our English version. Winer perhaps makes too much of the article here, when he declares that by means of it "Nicodemus is referred to as *the* teacher of Israel preëminently—as the man in whom all teaching-power was centred." Yet there can be no doubt that it singles out Nicodemus as a well-known and eminent teacher—"ille magister," as Erasmus has it—and that it ought to be taken account of in translating the passage. Again, the neglect of the article gives rise to not a little additional obscurity in the very involved and difficult argument of the Apostle towards the end of the

fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Archbishop Trench, ("On the Authorized Version of the New Testament") remarks that this neglect renders "serious doctrinal misunderstandings possible at Rom. 5, 15. 17;" and then adds, "In place of any observation of my own, I will here quote Bentley's criticism on our version. Having found fault with the rendering of οἱ πολλοί, Rom. 12, 5, he proceeds—

"This will enable us to clear up another place of much greater consequence, Rom. 5, where, after the Apostle had said, verse 12, "that by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed *upon all men* (εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους) for that all have sinned," in the rendition of this sentence, verse 15, he says, "for if through the offence *of one*, (τοῦ ἑνὸς) *many* (οἱ πολλοί) be dead" (so our translators) much more the grace of God by one man (τοῦ ἑνὸς) Jesus Christ hath abounded *unto many*" (εἰς τοὺς πολλούς). Now, who would not wish that they had kept the articles in the version, which they saw in the original? "If through the offense of *the one* (that is, Adam) *the many* have died, much more the grace of God *by the one* man hath abounded unto *the many*." By this accurate version some hurtful mistakes about partial redemption and absolute reprobation had been happily prevented. Our English readers had then seen, what several of the Fathers saw and testified, that οἱ πολλοί *the many*, in an antithesis to *the one*, are equivalent to πάντες, *all*, in verse 12, and comprehend the whole multitude, the entire species of mankind, exclusive only of *the one*. So, again, in verses 18 and 19 of the same chapter, our translators have repeated the like mistake, where, when the Apostle had said, "that as the offense of one was *upon all men* (εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους) to condemnation, so the righteousness of one was upon *all men* to justification; for, adds he, as by one man's (τοῦ ἑνὸς) disobedience *the many* (οἱ πολλοί) were made sinners, so by the obedience of the one (τοῦ ἑνὸς) the many (οἱ πολλοί) shall be made righteous. By this version the reader is admonished and guided to remark that *the many* in verse 19 are the same as πάντες, in the 18th. But our translators, when they render it '*many* were made sinners, *many* were made righteous,' what do they less than lead and draw away their unwary readers into error?"

In regard to the tenses of the Greek verb, many obvious corrections require to be made. A present tense is adopted for a past (Acts 28, 4): "No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance *suffered not* (οὐκ εἴασεν) to live;"* and a past for a present Rev. 7, 14; (see also 4, 5), "These are they who are coming (οἱ ἐρχόμενοι) out of great tribulation." The imperfect tense is often translated as a past, to the great detriment of the sense. Thus at Matt. 13, 34, we read in the authorized version, "All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables; and without a parable spake he not unto them." But the contrast between the historic past and the imperfect (though unnoticed both by Alford and Ainslie) is here strongly marked in the original. The first "spake" is ἐλάλησεν, and is of course a proper rendering; but the second is ἐλάλει, and the clause should manifestly be translated thus: "Without a parable was he not in the habit of speaking unto them." So, at Luke 1, 59 we read, "and they *called* him Zacharias;" but, as it is the imperfect tense which is used, the rendering ought to be, "they were calling," or better, perhaps, "they were thinking of calling him Zacharias." To give only one other example of this kind, we find the statement at Luke 5, 6, "their net brake," whereas the translation should be, "their net was at the point of breaking." Sometimes, again, the aorist is improperly rendered as a perfect or *vice versa*. As an example of the first mistake, we read, at 2 Peter, 1, 14, as follows: "Knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ *hath shewed* me." Trench here aptly remarks; By this "*hath* shewed me" we lose altogether the special allusion to an historic moment in the Apostle's life, to John 21, 18. 19, which would at once come out, if ἐδήλωσέν μοι had been rendered "shewed me." As an example of the second mistake, the same writer refers to Luke 13, 2, "Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered such things?" He rightly adds, "Rather, because *they have suffered* (πεπόνθασιν) such things." Our Lord contemplates the memorable catastrophe by which they perished, not as something belonging

* See the delicate remarks of Trench on this passage; "*On the Authorized Version*," p. 94.

merely to the historic past, but as a fact reaching into the present—still vividly presenting itself to the mind's eye of his hearers. These instances must suffice as illustrations of the inaccuracy so often observable in our version with respect to the rendering of tenses.

Looking now at the prepositions, we find some manifest blunders in the English translation. Oftener than once διά with the accusative is rendered as if it were followed by the genitive. Thus, at John 15, 3, we read, "Now ye are clean *through* the word (διὰ τὸν λόγον) which I have spoken unto you; where, though it is difficult in our language to mark the distinction, some such rendering as that of Alford had better be adopted, "Ye are clean already *by reason of* the word which I have spoken unto you." Again, the prepositions εἰς and ἐν are sometimes, without the least necessity, treated as convertible. There cannot, indeed, be the slightest doubt that εἰς must often be rendered in English with the sense of ἐν as at Mark 13, 9, and in many other places. But the radical difference in meaning between the two prepositions ought always to be kept in view, and should not be needlessly set at nought as in the authorized version. Thus, at John 11, 52, we find συναγάγῃ εἰς ἕν translated "should gather together in one," where "into one" is manifestly the proper rendering; and, conversely, we find, at 1 Tim. 3. 16, ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ translated "was received *into* glory," while "*in* glory" is the only proper version of the passage. In several places, also, the preposition ἐπί admits of a more accurate rendering than it receives in the authorized translation. At Col. 3, 14, e. g., it would be better to translate the words ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, "*over* all these things," than "*above* all these things," as in the common version. And at Matt. 28, 14, the words are we believe, quite mistranslated when they are rendered, "if this come to the governor's ears." The Peshito version, always a weighty authority to appeal to, whether as respects the text or the translation, renders the words thus: "if this be heard *before* the governor;" and Alford remarks, in his notes on the passage, "Not only 'come to the ears of the governor,' but 'be borne witness of *before* the governor,' come before him officially," though, for what reason we cannot divine, he retains, in his revised version, the totally erroneous rendering of our authorized translation.

We have brought forward the passages cited above as examples of not a few in which decided advantage would be gained by a more skillful and accurate handling of the Greek article, the Greek tenses, and the Greek prepositions, than they have received in our common English version; but we now beg very humbly, yet with all possible earnestness, to protest against the sweeping changes which have, in respect to these points, been recently proposed by some revisers of the English New Testament. They have, we think, been very unduly influenced by fancied grammatical canons which apply, if at all, only to writings composed in classical Greek, and have, in this way, frequently obscured, if they have not even altogether perverted, the meaning of the Word of God.

As to the article, for instance, it has been attempted by Mr. Green, in his Twofold New Testament, "always to omit it in English when it does not occur in the Greek. We find, accordingly, the words, πνεῦμα ἅγιον, invariably translated "Holy Spirit," instead of "the Holy Spirit," because the article is not present in the original. And hence we are presented with such renderings as these, Matt. 3, 11, "He shall baptize you with Holy Spirit;" Luke 4, 1, "Jesus full of Holy Spirit;" while at Acts 8, 39, we read, "a Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip." As to the tenses, again, we find in Alford's revision such renderings as the following: John 17, 4, "I *glorified* thee on earth;" ver. 6, "I *manifested* thy name;" Phil. 4, 11, "I *learned* in the state in which I am, therein to be content;" and so in countless other passages, the Greek aorist being rigidly represented by the absolutely past tense of the English verb. And as to prepositions, Alford presents us with numerous renderings such as these: Eph. 2, 13, "brought nigh *in* the blood of Christ;" verse 18, "*in* one Spirit unto the Father;" ver. 22, "an habitation of God *in* the Spirit;" Col. 1, 16, "*in* Him were all things created," and so on, space forbidding us to name even the tenth part of those alterations which have thus been proposed in our existing English translation.

Now, we do trust that such attempts at grammatical purism will, on further reflection, be abandoned by those who are anxious to see improvements introduced into our authorized version of the New Testament. Whatever may be said of the principles on

which Greek classical writers should be translated into our language, the rules thus applied might *a priori*, be expected to prove largely inapplicable to the New Testament. For, first of all, that is written, not in classical, but in *Hebraistic* Greek; and, that the familiarity of the sacred writers with the Hebrew idiom, as transferred so generally to the Greek version of the Septuagint, had a marked effect upon their syntax, is obvious to every reader.

And then, again, it should be remembered that the New Testament is written in *provincial* Greek, which could not but vary, in several respects, from the perfect standard and strict grammatical usage of the language. This may be illustrated by a reference to what is observable in our own country. As showing, for instance, how provincialism will affect the use of prepositions, it may be noticed that a Scotchman will often use "at" where an Englishman would employ "for"—("What are you waiting *at?*" instead of "What are you waiting *for?*"), while, as is well known, the auxillary verbs "can" and "may," "will" and "shall," ("*Can* I do that?" instead of "*May* I do that?" "*Will* I bring it?" instead of "*Shall* I bring it?") are used very differently in the Northern and Southern divisions of our island.

What, then, is the rule which should guide us in regard to such points in translating the New Testament into our language? Not, certainly, the unbending grammatical theory, for that confessedly *breaks down* in the hands of those who adopt it. They dare not carry it through the whole of the New Testament. Thus, while Dean Alford translates the aorists in the intercessory prayer of our Lord by *past* tenses of the English verb, he renders the aorists which occur in the Eucharistic song of the Virgin by *perfects:* and so, on many other occasions. While, again, he so often translates the preposition ἐν by "in," where we deem a different word clearly preferable, he soon after departs from such a rendering of the word and adopts another preposition. Thus, while at John 17, 17, we have "Sanctify them *in* the truth," at 1 Thess. 4, 18, we find "Comfort one another *with* these words." The Dean almost frightens us from making these or any other strictures on his work, by observing in his Preface, "The old story of the scholar

who sent King James' translators five reasons in favor of a certain rendering, and was answered that they had fifteen against it, not inaptly represents in very many cases, the relation between our critics and ourselves;" still, in the face of such obvious inconsistencies as those to which we have referred, it may not be unduly presumptuous to express a doubt that he has, in not a few cases, sacrificed the real meaning of passages to what are deemed the grammatical requirements of the original text.

The true principle of guidance in dealing with such points as those under consideration, we humbly conceive to be this, —always to bear in mind the strict lexical and syntactical rules of the language, but never to allow these to override the meaning demanded by the context. Of course, this is a very indefinite principle and leaves great scope for the exercise of exegetical tact and judgment. But no other can, we believe, safely be adopted in seeking to transfer the meaning of the New Testament, as accurately as possible, into our language; and Dean Alford himself has in numerous instances felt the necessity of acting upon it. Thus, at Matt. 28, 19, the preposition εἰς will very well bear the rendering, "into," and he accordingly translates, "Go ye, make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them *into* the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." But he never dreams of translating the words at Luke 7, 50, πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην, "go *into* peace,"— a rendering which would be simply absurd. We must, then beware of yielding too much to canons of interpretation, derived from the classics, in translating the New Testament; while, at the same time, keeping these in view, and guarding them by those other considerations we have suggested, not a few alterations for the better may be introduced into the English authorized version.

We have now to glance at the third and last department of our argument—that which has reference to the occurrence of obsolete, obscure, or otherwise objectionable expressions in our authorized translation. On this ground alone, as we are fully persuaded, there is a loud and urgent call for revision. Nor could any one fail to see that such is the case, if it were always remembered that the English Bible is intended

specially for the use of merely English readers. Such as can have recourse to the original, are, of course, to a great extent, independent of it; and those obsolete expressions to which we are now to allude, are of little consequence, so far as they are concerned. As scholars acquainted with the Greek and Hebrew text, as well as with the history of their own language, they are in no danger of being misled by the use of the terms in question. But that fact has no bearing on the argument. The sole point to be considered is, how the style of the authorized version affects those who are familiar only with the English of the present day. And we have no hesitation in saying, that in very many passages, it is to such persons very obscure, if not altogether unintelligible. Nor, considering the length of time which has elapsed since our version was formed, is it possible that the case could be otherwise. Who would expect any humble peasant, or even one who has just received the elements of a good English education, to understand, or be much attracted by the writings of such old authors as Francis Quarles or Sir Walter Raleigh? However interesting the subjects of which these writers treat, their style is so antiquated, and so obscure to the majority of readers, that any attempt which might be made to peruse their works would be speedily abandoned. Yet they were coeval with the translators of our authorized version. And the same obscurities and perplexities, which emerge in their writings, to an ordinary English reader at the present day, may also be expected in the common translation. Nor does it require much investigation to discover that such is the case. Many passages might be brought forward which are couched in phraseology that cannot but be most perplexing, if not misleading to those who are acquainted only with their own language, as spoken or written in their own day. Let the following examles suffice as illustrations:

At Rom. 12, 1, we find the words, "I beseech, you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your *reasonable* service." Now, the meaning of this beautiful exhortation is greatly obscured by the use of the word "reasonable" in the concluding clause. We have again and again found, on asking intelligent English readers as to the significance which

they attached to it, that they imagined it to imply that the thing referred to was what might be *reasonably* expected, or for which a reason might be given. It is needless to say that a different idea is suggested by the original, and that the proper rendering is that of Dean Alford—"your *rational* service."

At verse 12 of the same chapter, we have the precept "continuing *instant* in prayer." A trap is here again laid for the ordinary English reader. He is apt, as we have often found on applying the test, to imagine that the words contain some reference to time—that they somehow mean that *every instant* is to be given to prayer. It is easy, of course, for the educated to smile at such a misapprehension of the words. But we must repeat that, in this matter, *they* are not the persons concerned. The English Bible ought to be expressed in such a style that the humblest in the land, who can simply read his own language, may be able to understand it. And with this view, the terms "instant" and "instantly" now obsolete in the sense of "earnest" and "earnestly," ought manifestly to be exchanged at all the places at which they occur (Luke 7, 4; Acts 26, 7; Rom. 12, 12; 2 Tim. 4, 2), for their equivalents in modern English.

Several other mistaken or unfortunate renderings occur in the same chapter. Then, at verse 11, the expression τῇ σπουδῇ, should not be translated "business" but "zeal," the reference being not to the affairs of this life, but to the discharge of the peculiarly Christian duties. At verse 17, the word καλά translated "honest" in our version, would much better be rendered "seemly" or "honorable." Again, at verse 18, the clause, "as much as lieth in you," as the equivalent of τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν is liable to be misunderstood, and the verse would better be translated as follows: "If it be possible *so far as you are concerned*, live peaceably with all men."

At Matt. 6, 25. 27. 28. 31. 34; 10, 19; Mark 13, 11; Luke 12, 11. 22. 26. the phrase "take thought" is a very inadequate and unfortunate rendering of the original. Doubtless it meant, in the days of our translators, "being anxious;" but all such meaning has now evaporated from the expression. And we have, accordingly, seen the words grasped at by a shallow, but not, on that account, harmless infidelity, as furnishing an ob-

jection to the Bible. They have been represented as inculcating absolute neglect in reference to the future, as frowning upon that prudence which would wisely and trustfully make provision for the time to come. The beautiful precept of our Lord is thus misunderstood. The Greek term μεριμνᾶτε which He employs, means a *painful brooding* upon the future, and that He urges his followers not to nurture in their hearts. He says not a word against a wise forethought for the time to come, but rather, taking this for granted on the part of his disciples, He then exhorts them to dismiss all haunting fears, and to leave their interests, with child-like confidence, in the hands of a gracious Providence.

A very wide field of correction is found in the use of the words "offend," "offense," and "conversation," in the authorized version. Thus, at Ps. 119, 165. there is a very pregnant and instructive truth announced by the Psalmist, the import of which is almost certain to be missed by the mere English reader. "Great peace," he says, "have they which love thy law; and nothing shall offend them"—the meaning being that those who love God's law, and, as a consequence, bow with unquestionable deference to its sovereign authority, shall be free from those *stumbling blocks* of pride, unbelief, and vain speculation, that lie in the way of others. The same word occurs frequently in the New Testament; and we must acknowledge that there is no small difficulty in bringing out its import in modern English. Dean Alford has avoided the attempt, and retains "offend" at Matt. 5, 29., etc., and "offenses" at Matt. 17, 7, etc. But it is quite certain that two such different verbs as σκανδαλίζει (Matt 5, 29, etc.) and πταίσει (James 2, 10. etc.), and two such different nouns as σκάνδαλα (Luke 17, 1, etc.) and παραπτώματα (Rom. 4, 25), should not be translated by the same words, "offend" and "offenses" as they respectively are in our authorized version. Mr. Ainslie perhaps hits upon as happy a rendering as can be hoped for, when he translates Matt. 5, 29 thus: "If thy right hand *cause thee to sin*," though we are surprised to find him falling back on the ambiguous term "offend" at Matt. 18, 6, etc. As to the term "conversation," it ought in the numerous passages in which it occurs (Ps. 50, 23; Gal. 1, 13; 1 Pet. 1, 16, etc.) to be almost invariably rendered "conduct,"

or, "manner of life." The only exception that occurs to us is at Phil. 3, 20, where "conversation" stands as a most inadequate rendering of πολίτευμα. The common correction to "citizenship" is here adopted by Ainslie; but Alford's translation of the clause "*our country* is in the heavens," is far better; or, as we would prefer to give it, on the ground of the undoubted meaning of the word in the Septuagint (2 Macc. 12, 9), "our city of abode is in heaven."

There are many other obsolete or obscure expressions in our common version, on which space will not permit us to dwell, but a few of which we may here mention together. "Carriage," at 1 Sam. 17, 22, and "carriages," at Acts 21, 15, simply mean "baggage." The word translated "observed" (Mark 6, 20, συνετήρει) means "preserved" or "protected." The term "religion" (James 1, 27, θρησκεία) does not have its outward meaning, *piety*, or *godliness*, but merely denotes the outward display of religious feeling. "Quick" (Acts 10, 42; Heb. 4, 12, etc.) means "living;" and "sometimes" (Eph. 2, 13; 5, 8; Col. 3, 7) stands for "at one time." The antiquated expression "leasing" (Ps. 4, 2) is used for "lying." The verb, "to ear" (Gen. 45, 6; 1 Sam. 8, 12, &c.) means "to till the ground." The word "room" (Matt. 23, 6) means no more than "place;" and "worship" (Luke 14, 10,—δόξα) simply denotes "honor" or "glory." These specimens must serve as examples of the obscurity in which many passages of Scripture are wrapped to the ordinary English reader, on account of the obsolete phraseology in which they are expressed. We do by no means desire to see the archaic style of our English Bible destroyed; we would, on the contrary, where it is intelligible, jealously preserve it. At the same time, it is surely the dictate of common sense that, where expressions have passed entirely out of use, or have, in the course of time, acquired a different meaning, they should be replaced by others better fitted to bring out the true import of the sacred text to English readers at the present day. There are, moreover, many instances of bad grammar (as they are now deemed), to be found in our authorized version. We are aware that most of these were perfectly correct at the time when the translation was made, but that does not alter the fact that the merest tyro in learning would pronounce them inaccuracies in

our day. Such expressions as "much people," "much bold," "often infirmities," &c., ought manifestly to give place to others more in harmony with the grammar of our language as now established. For the same reason, "which" so often used in reference to a person, should be exchanged for the more correct "who." We regret to observe that Dean Alford, while correcting many of the grammatical errors in the common version, has very needlessly retained "often" as an adjective at 1 Tim. 5, 23, and constantly uses "which" when the antecedent is a person. The effect of this latter usage is sometimes very awkward, as at Rom. 1, 3. 4, where we read in the revision, "concerning his Son, *which* was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, *which* was with power declared to be the Son of God," &c. A reader naturally refers the second "which" to flesh; but this makes nonsense of the passage, while the use of "who" would have prevented all ambiguity. It is also much to be regretted, as Trench has pointed out, that our translators have so often used adjectives ending in "ly," as if they were adverbs. We are surprised that Alford has left some of the most glaring of these cases uncorrected. Thus, at 1 Cor. 13, 5, we still find in his revision the words "doth not behave itself *unseemly*," and at Titus 2, 12, "soberly, and justly, and *godly* in this present world." Mr. Ainslie, with a juster appreciation of the requirements of our language at the present day, gives "unbecomingly" in the former passage, and "godlily" in the latter, though we must acknowledge a strong objection to both words on the score of euphony, and can only express the hope that, with pains, a better selection might yet be made.

A very important class of improvements is to be found in the rendering of proper names throughout the New Testament. These should manifestly always be given in the form with which readers of the Old Testament have already become familiar. It is nothing to the purpose to say that they appear different in the Greek text from what they are in the Hebrew. To any one urging such a plan we might well say, as the translators of the authorized version, referring to another matter, say in their Preface, "Is the kingdom of God become words or syllables?" Besides, if there is any force in the argument, why should it not be applied to the Old Testament as well as the

New? If it be important that we should read *Elias*, *Osee*, &c., because such is the form in which the words occur in the Greek, why should we not also have *Jeremiah*, *Jehezkel*, &c., since these are the forms in which Jeremiah and Ezekiel appear in the Hebrew? The obvious rule is to preserve uniformity of translation, so that there may not be the slightest difficulty in identifying the persons referred to in both Testaments. But this rule is constantly violated in our common version. We have, in addition to the two named above, *Noe* for Noah, *Esaias* for Isaiah, *Eliseus* for Elisha, *Core* for Korah, &c., and, worst of all, *Jesus* for Joshua (Acts 7, 45; Heb. 4, 8). The perplexity caused to ordinary readers in the last passage referred to, cannot but be of the most annoying and mischievous character, and would at once be put to an end by the insertion of Joshua instead of Jesus, in the text. We are glad to find that Dean Alford has, in almost every case, corrected the authorized version on the point under consideration. But there are some singular exceptions. At Matt. 5, 13. 15, we meet in his version, with *Zabulon* and *Nephtalim*, and at Acts 7, 29, *Madian*, instead of Zebulon, Naphtali and Midian, which, as the forms most familiar to English readers, ought, of course, to be adopted.

Space will not permit us to dwell on the importance of (unless to secure some higher advantage) always translating the same expression as often as it occurs in the original by the same word in English. Trench has some admirable remarks on this subject in chapter 4 of his little treatise, "On the authorized Version." He says:—

"It is clearly the office of translators to put the reader of the translation, as nearly as may be, on the same vantage-ground as the reader of the original; to give him, so far as this is attainable, the same assistance for understanding the author's meaning. Now, every exact and laborious student of his Greek Testament knows that there is almost no such help in some passage of difficulty, doctrinal or otherwise, as to turn to his Greek Concordance, to search out every other passage in which the word or words wherein the difficulty seems chiefly to reside, occur, and closely to observe their usage there. It is manifestly desirable that the reader of the English Bible should have, as nearly as possible, the same resource. But if, where there is

one and the same word in the original, there are two, three, half-a-dozen in the version, he is in the main deprived of it. Thus, he hears the doctrine of the atonement discussed; he would fain turn to all the passages where 'atonement' occurs; he finds only one (Rom. 5, 11), and, of course, is unaware that in other passages where he meets 'reconciling' and 'reconciliation' (Rom. 11, 15; 2 Cor. 5, 18. 19), it is the same word in the original. In words like this, which are, so to speak, *sedès doctrinæ*, one regrets, above all, variation and uncertainty in rendering."

"Thus it will sometimes happen that when St. Paul is pursuing a close train of reasoning, and one which demands severest attention, the difficulties of his argument, not small in themselves, are aggravated by the use of different words where he has used the same; the word being sometimes the very key of the whole; as, for instance, in the fourth chapter of the Romans. *Λογίζομαι* occurs eleven times in this chapter. We may say that it is the key-word to St. Paul's argument throughout, being every where employed most strictly in the same sense, and that a technical and theological one. But our translators have no fixed rule of rendering it. Twice they render it 'count' (verses 3. 5); six times 'impute' (verses 6. 8. 11. 22. 23. 24); and three times 'reckon' (verses 4. 9. 10); while at Gal. 3, 6 they introduce a fourth rendering, 'account.' Let the student read this chapter, employing every where 'reckon,' or, which would be better, every where 'impute,' and observe how much of clearness and precision St. Paul's argument would in this way acquire."

We must also notice, in a sentence or two, those indelicate expressions which so often mar the beauty of our English Bible, especially in the Old Testament. There is not the slightest excuse or necessity for retaining these in the translation. It is no argument whatever to say that they are an exact version of the original. Every one knows that a literal translation is often the most unfaithful of all translations. Words that are in quite good society in one language, may occupy a totally different position in another. The aim of a translator should be to convey as exactly as possible to the readers of his version the ideas and feelings which were suggested to the

readers of the original. But this is unquestionably very often not the effect of the renderings adopted in our English Bible. Not to mention some still more offensive cases, the literal translation of the Hebrew text at Gen. 34, 30 is as uncalled for as it is repulsive. The LXX. have, in this and other passages, shown far more taste and literary judgment than have our translators. It may also be noticed in this connection how unmeaning, if not absurd, the word "reins" must often appear to a mere English reader. What can he understand, for instance, by such a statement as that at Ps. 16, 7, "My *reins* also instruct me in the night season?" The Hebrews supposed the "reins" to be the seat of impulse and affection, but no such belief prevails in ourselves; and it seems about as irrational to translate such passages literally, as it would be to render *jecur*, "liver," in such a line as that of Horace,

"Si torrere jecur quaeris idoneum,"

where even the prosaic Smart has, "If you seek to inflame a suitable *breast*."

On all these grounds, then,—first, that the text requires and admits of large correction; secondly, that there are numerous mistranslations which pervert or obscure the meaning of the original; and thirdly, that there are many antiquated and unsuitable expressions which are, less or more, unintelligible and offensive to the English reader, we submit that there is an urgent call for a revision of the authorized version of Scripture. But, while strongly maintaining the duty of introducing important changes in all the respects mentioned, we would not have a *single word* altered, except under the pressure of absolute necessity. Conservation, to the extremest point consistent with fidelity, is the principle on which we think a revision should be based. Not a syllable of the text should be changed, unless it were morally certain that a nearer approach was thus made to the original. No difference of translation should be admitted, unless it were perfectly clear that the existing version was an inadequate or inaccurate representation of the Greek or Hebrew text; and not a single archaic term or phrase should be sacrificed, unless it had become obscure or misleading to English readers, or was out of harmony with the laws and requirements of our language at the present day.

We believe that, in all these respects, needless alterations have been made in recent attempts at improving the authorized version. Some specimens of these have been given above, and many more might be mentioned. But we shall here simply notice further how important it is that the *rhythm* of the common version should, as far as possible, be preserved. Any difference of order in the words, or the displacement of one word for another nearly synonymous, should not, except for some very obvious and essential reason, be admitted. We confess that we wish Dean Alford had been less liberal of change in regard to the points mentioned. Is it worth while, for instance, to destroy the familiar melody of the beautiful words, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" by substituting "are weary" for "labor" as the translation of κοπιῶντες? And is any appreciable gain secured at 1 Thess. 4, 17, by adopting, instead of the grand and time-honored words, "and so shall we ever be with the Lord," the version of Alford, "and so shall we be always with the Lord?" Change of diction, even where imperative, cannot but jar, for a time, on the ear, and ought never to be indulged in, except as a consequence of a plain and acknowledged necessity.

Before concluding this article, we may be expected to glance at some objections which are still occasionally brought forward against such a revision of the English Bible as that for which we plead. We own that our conviction of the duty and necessity of setting about this work without delay is so deep and settled, that we have little heart for dealing with the arguments which may be alleged against it. Lest, however, we should be deemed ignorant of these, or be thought afraid of meeting them, we shall now devote a few sentences to their consideration.

One of the commonest allegations is, that a revision of the Scriptures under national authority, would tend to shake the confidence placed in them by the people at large. But, we must acknowledge our inability to see how this could possibly be the case. Among the moderately intelligent such a result is, of course, wholly out of the question. All such persons are already well aware of the fact, that the common version stands

in need of extensive correction, and would feel a satisfaction in ascertaining from competent authority what changes are really necessary, instead of being left to vague, and therefore often exaggerated, conceptions on the subject. Nor is it possible, were it desirable, to hide even from the least educated, in these days of extensive reading, the true history and condition of the English Bible. They find such topics frequently discussed in the newspapers or other popular periodicals; and they may, on any Sunday in the year, hear the authorized version corrected in the pulpit. Now, this is a state of things which is far more fitted to breed suspicion than would an avowed and authoritative revision. People would then know exactly what improvements were required; their minds would be satisfied on the subject; and confidence, so far from being shaken, would be greatly increased, as being henceforth established on a firm and intelligent foundation.

But then it is whispered that our country cannot at present furnish the Biblical scholarship necessary for this great undertaking. The learning of the present day is pronounced superficial, as compared with that of the old translators. For our own part, we can only regard such a declaration as one of the convenient mock-modesties of the age, which are so generally used in thwarting or delaying all attempts at improvement. It has been shown in this article how great and manifold are the changes for the better which the most moderate scholarship might make on our authorized version. In fact, the chief thing to be done is simply to appropriate and apply the results of that immense amount of learned research which has been expended on the Bible in the course of the last two hundred and fifty years. And we are firmly pursuaded that in all the leading sections of the Church, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist, there are many men to be found thoroughly competent for this work, and whose names would at once command universal and unwavering confidence.

Again, however, it is said that revisers, selected, as they must be, from many different branches of the Church, would never be able to agree with respect to the changes to be made on the existing version. Party spirit, it is affirmed, would come strongly out, and lead to bitter contention; nay, irreconcilable

difference of opinion. We do not in the slightest degree apprehend any such result. The revisers would, we are convinced, enter on their holy and responsible task, in a spirit infinitely above all partisan tendencies, and anxious only to elicit the real meaning of the word of God. Dean Alford has nobly illustrated the possibility of acting in this manner. At Acts 20, 28, he has dismissed the expression "overseers" of the authorized version, and substituted "bishops" in its stead. He has thus made clear what King James's translators have been thought anxious to hide, that the persons styled "elders" (πρεσβυτέρους) in verse 17, are called "bishops" (ἐπισκόπους) in verse 28, the two appellations being evidently for a time, convertable. This, we feel sure, is a fair example of the kind of spirit that would prevail among any body of revisers that might be appointed under national authority. They would too deeply feel the solemnity of the duty assigned them to let anything else than the most scrupulous fidelity regulate their conduct. And should it happen, as might be the case, that any one honestly thought that a just rendering of the original favored the class of opinions with which he was identified, while others, with equal honesty, held the reverse, a very simple rule would suffice for guidance in such circumstances. Let the terms in dispute just remain as they are in the existing version. They would be few compared with the immense number of alterations about which all parties, whatever their doctrinal or ecclesiastical tendencies, would be agreed. And thus, while none could feel aggrieved by the retention of one or two doubtful renderings, just as they stood in the former translation, the nation at large would secure enormous benefits from the improvements, so varied and important, which would unquestionably be sanctioned by the unanimous opinion of all that were called to take part in the work of revision.

Our fervent hope, then, is, that some man of energy and ability will, without delay, bring this pressing and important question under the notice of the people of England, and rest not until some practical step has been taken in connection with it. Duty to God's truth and duty to God's people demand that this should be done; and let not the leaders of public opinion incur the responsibility of longer neglecting or trifling with the

subject. There can be no doubt that the scholarship of the nation will eagerly respond to any call which may be addressed to it to engage in this great and holy undertaking; and, as the result, we may confidently look, under the Divine blessing, for an English Bible purged from the many imperfections which now cleave to the authorized version, yet retaining those numerous and striking excellencies by which that hallowed volume has endeared itself to the hearts of so many generations.

NOTE.—Wholly aside from the correctness of the ground taken in the above article, the instances where improvement in our present version of the New Testament is possible, are in general well chosen and deserve a careful examination. But in the controversy on this subject, it is not a little remarkable that the first condition of a revised version which shall possess any solid claim to general acceptance, viz: the *formation of a Greek Textus Receptus of the 19th century*, by a competent body of scholars, has received no greater prominence. This is the first labor to be accomplished. With all the eminence of Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, and Scrivener in the department of textual criticism, the judgment of neither of them can be accepted as final. The combined judgment of many minds upon the largely increased evidence recently collected, is needed to determine what the text to be translated shall be, and when this shall be decided to the general satisfaction of the Christian world, a long step will be taken towards the settlement of the question of a revised translation. On the other hand until this is done, any version which might be made would rest upon an uncertain basis, and be sure itself to need revising.

ED. ECLECTIC.

VIII.—RECENT CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY.—JAMES HAMILTON AND WILLIAM CHALMERS BURNS.*

THERE are certain social aspects of Christianity which have hardly yet been sufficiently dwelt upon. One of these is the consecration it gives to companionship. Till Christianity appeared, men simply judged each other in masses,—such at least was the evident tendency,—one man was simply representative to another of a race, a tribe, a class, a sect to which he belonged. Even in the palmy days of Greece and Rome, a man was valued only as a citizen or as a slave, and the whole bearing of social regulations and distinctions was to smooth down, if not to entirely rub away, whatever was special, distinctive, personal. It was felt that the State should form the individual; and therefore the ideal of each man was absorbed in the civil whole, and he had no claim to have a life apart. Socrates actually died for trying to develop in the minds of the young Greeks, some respect for the individual ideal—the better self of the soul and imagination, which undefinably links each creature, however ignorant and humble, to the greatest of poets, lawgivers, reformers, as their coëval and equal. And in the fading days of Greece and Rome, things are worse and worse. The centre of national or civic life has yielded and split up; so that now men are divided into parties, each with its own watchwords, aims and traditions; and neither party has an eye for, or can respect, aught of good or noble in the individuals of the other party. Society has ceased to regard itself as a whole, like Wordsworth's cloud, "moving all together, if it moves at all;" but the individuals composing it are as unfit as before to penetrate beyond the shibboleth of

* From the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, April, 1870.—A review of Arnot's *Life of James Hamilton, D.D.*, and Professor Burns's *Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., Missionary to China.*

sect or class, and to say of a man—"Brother, I love thee for that better self, that possibility of goodness and grace, that may be hidden in thee."

And what of the Jews? Is it not the chief sin to be charged against them, that, falling away from belief in the sublime sense of the revelation that out of their race was to spring the Saviour in whom all nations of the earth should be blessed, they so completely lost all respect for the ideal humanity that lay in the Gentiles and in themselves, that the higher classes—the governing and influential powers of the nation—were so blinded that they could not see the beauty and commanding holiness of that supreme revelation of God, which took flesh and walked among them, resplendent in all grace and truth?

Now, Christianity has enforced on men, in the most commanding form, respect for the ideal—this possibility of goodness and grace that may lie in each—a respect upon which at once all individual well-being and all true social progress is founded,—a respect which makes varieties of individual character the ground of a truer, profounder, and more fruitful companionship, while it is, at the same time, the great practical incentive towards genuine missionary effort and disinterested endeavor to elevate the outlying portions of the race, morally and spiritually. Christ chose as his disciples men of the most varied disposition, character, tendency, and occupation, and was himself the uniting centre of what, under any kind of heathen influence, could but have been a host of rebellious, opposing, and heterogeneous elements, such as could only have been momentarily brought together there, to spring more widely apart after the contact. And this influence, working like a leaven in society, has been powerful at once in determining fellowships and friendships, and in directing to the most self-denying activities ever since men have been Christians. Types of character the most opposite, frames of mind apparently the most uncongenial, tendencies the most diverse, and talents the most unlike, have been drawn into loving sympathy at the foot of the Cross, and have gone forth together, with swift feet, seeking for new points of fellowship in the souls they might save, and the lost ones they might restore. History could supply instances many: the contrast we have

brought closely before us in James Hamilton and William Burns—friends from earliest youth till the last—is as interesting and as powerful as any.

In any conceivable condition these two men could have been found in, *without Christianity*, they must necessarily have been apart from each other, repelled by what was most striking and characteristic. Their deep, tender Christianity is the only one thing they have in common. In all else they differ, or seem to differ, *toto cœlo;* and, when perusing their biographies, and comparing them, we discover how, as they advance in years, new points of sympathy come out, and innate differences of temperament and habit, like morning mists, draw backward, only to shed magic lights and colors over the whole picture, we cannot help being surprised at such a marvellous unity in diversity—such a transforming miracle of the gospel of the grace of God. For scarce anything else could account for the attitude in which, from first to last, the two stand toward each other.

To realize this the better, let us note a few of the more salient points of contrast. Hamilton, in the main, is naturally of the genial, self-satisfied type, with a tendency to little bursts of innocent vanity, arising from the gracious delight he finds in all outward things, and his capability of discerning the thread of beauty and significance that runs through them; this tendency only being elevated and refined through grace, and not deadened or done away. Burns is, in the main, of the somber, ascetic cast, with little eye for the beauties of nature, and with no call for science or for poetry; his inner life has early been cast up by a sudden conviction of the awful evil of sin, and the misery of a sinning world; and his still nature, and subdued, half-shy manners, are kept in trembling movement by the volcanic stir and panting tumult of the inner fires. Hamilton's heat runs to the surface, and easily exhausts itself in sympathy for the minutest thing that claims his attention; but he is not intense; and, while he longs for knowledge, finds such half-boyish delight in the gathering of it, that there is a buoyant, tip-toe lightsomeness about his every movement, helping him to step over, if not to rise far above, the sad and subduing trials of life Burns, again, is all intensity; his

fervor consumes him so, that he can find no relief in anything, save the one thing—seeking the salvation of the lost; and he continually proceeds under the conviction that he is called upon to crucify those tendencies of his nature, in which his friend Hamilton found the rarest delights of his life. The one seemed born for society; the other for the solitary work of a Christian pioneer; the one was a most lovable, genial, Christian gentleman, whose devotion to his office as a minister of Christ, and his determination to do his duty in it, interfered to some extent with a native craving for science and literature, which yet, owing to his not being able once for all to subdue it, administered something of dividedness to his life; the other was an *evangelist*, of so decisively pronounced and individual a type, that he could never have wrought so successfully amid the grooves and beaten roadways of ordinary religious society at home, as among heathens and strangers where he was, to some extent, alone in the wilderness. Hamilton was essentially in his place in learned and academic society; Burns would have certainly been out of his place there: Hamilton could never have stood that seclusion, that abstemiousness, and that total want of recognized social forms to work through, which Burns so cheerfully faced; while Burns, again, as certainly would have been unable to attract, and to manage and master a congregation like that of Regent Square, as Dr. Hamilton did, by sheer sunshiny sweetness and winning gentleness of nature. The one found relief in the diversities of life and character, and was full of a mild and placid humor, that daintily, sweetly, swept over the surface of life, like the shine and the shadow over the rippling corn; the other saw only one distinction in mankind—lost and saved; while all his humor (and in that he was not wanting), thrown back upon itself, sometimes struck through the disturbed grain of his gravity with strange illuminations, but always so as to afford him cover under which to proclaim the better, amid difficulties, the truth as it is in Jesus. Dr. Hamilton wore himself out with the endeavor to touch a multiplicity of interesting points, and he escaped from his more proper work to science and literature with a sense of refreshment; Burns, on the other hand, wore himself out, to some extent at all events, by his scorn for

anything like relief from his great work, and he escaped from everything that seemed to cool for a moment even the surface of his enthusiasm; feeling the cold wind of heathenism coming across him now and then, he hurries from it to get contact with a more helpful sphere, as once when he flies back from one of his advanced posts to Hong Kong. Could we conceive Hamilton with the least infusion of Burns's white-heat spirituality and force of undivided enthusiasm, or Burns with but a fraction of Hamilton's winning gentleness and insinuating gladness of spirit, either had almost been perfect. But it is not God's way to "close and sum up perfection" in the little world of one man. He complements the defect of a quality in one by its excess in another, and out of the very weakness and errors of his agents brings about results the most remarkable and inspiring, to uphold the faith and strengthen the hopes of those that are to follow after.

It is very remarkable to find how, even in the opening buds of character, the future man frequently reveals itself. It was so both in the cases of Hamilton and Burns. The former, when but a mere child, goes to bed, his little arms round a folio almost as tall as himself, taken from his good but bookish father's library; and he delivers sermons, which, characteristically enough, are *written* sermons, to his childish companions. Here, already, we have the precocious instinct for letters in company with as strong an instinct to *speak*. The two, when they meet in a nature of uncommon fineness and sensibility, are not seldom found to be practically incompatible. The spoken discourse requires the infusion of not a few elements which are hardly to be commanded in a written style; and Dr. Hamilton's style unmistakably bears evidence of a long-sustained endeavor to command both types at once. His sermons, and that not merely on account of his physical drawbacks, were not so effective in delivery as their intrinsic merits might have made them; while his published writings,—at all events, the earliest of them,—were somewhat overwrought and ornate, the ideas being entangled and half hidden in braids of too elaborate and over-colored description. Dr. Hamilton, as a preacher, was too intent on interesting his hearers by purely literary excursions. When well up in years, he carries about

with him a copy of *The Faerie Queene*, and says how effective a sermon would be whose every sentence filled the ear like a stanza of it. While he was himself sincerely and humbly earnest, and while those who sat regularly under him reaped large benefit from his ministrations, strangers were apt to be disappointed, and often left the church with a feeling of pleasure rather than of intensified conviction and enlarged religious feeling. For the first aim of preaching is to stir up and to strengthen the religious life; and, failing in this, in spite of any secondary effect it may happen to have, it is apt to be reckoned a failure. But there was one effect which Dr. Hamilton's preaching could never have failed to produce. This was the enforcing on the hearer, more by the personal influence and feeling that pervaded his every word, than by any direct appeal, the essential pleasantness and happy triumphing benignity of the Christian life. The feeling, only too general among the mercantile and upper classes of London, which leads them to view the Christian ideal with unfeigned repugnance, because of some vague, oppressive gloominess supposed to be inseparably connected with it, could not but have found itself pleasantly surprised and disappointed when it came into close contact with Dr. Hamilton, whether in the pulpit, in society, or on the printed page. He was a man of wide and ripe culture, yet, along with it all, there was a liberal lightsomeness which enabled him to play with all his knowledge, if so he might win men to purer and better lives. His dialogue with the piano tuner at Tunbridge Wells, in 1864 (p. 527 of Memoir), is rarely characteristic, though, we may say, that almost in every point, it is the reverse of what William Burns would have done. But the qualities we see here—his readiness to enter into another's mode of thinking and of looking at things; his wise way of drawing out the man's views to throw over them some fresh gleam of light, with due suffusion of Christian suggestion; and, above all, his faculty of saying the all-important thing he wished to say, as though it were of secondary significance, and were merely dropped in by the way to grow in the mind like a seed long afterwards—are indeed very noticeable and striking.

The service Dr. Hamilton did to the Christian Church in London by dint of these rare qualities, and through his peculiar ability to kindlily recommend Christian ideas to a class of men the hardest of all to reach—the scientific, and cultured, and sceptical—is one which well deserves to be kept in remembrance. We are forced to confess, however, that we have sometimes felt Dr. Hamilton's service to his generation might have been still greater had he been free to go among men of this stamp, simply and purely as the *litterateur* and man of science. His judgment was excellent, and he had that peculiar tact and adaptability which can only spring from true refinement and quickness of sympathy. Yet his attitude towards literature and science, while in the best sense conciliatory, lost some little of its effect from the fact of its being still the attitude of a clergyman. He had the true instinct of the man of science, and his whole nature was so suffused with the lights of religion, that it is not possible he could ever have gone over with the *savans* to the materialism which is now so much the fashion. He had a vein of poetry in him, too,—by which we mean that he had something of the creative imagination which, had it been directed concentratedly to any great department of science, would have given him vast advantage over the mere *men of facts.* His literary instincts were at least equal to his scientific sense; and so he could have come more nearly to competing with Tyndal and Huxley, and the rest of that school, on their own ground than almost any other one we know. Christian science greatly needs such minds as his to expose the half scrutinies and the false generalizations which are being put forward so boastfully at the present moment. It was not given to James Hamilton to realize these possibilities, though to the end he felt a strange recurrent stirring of his nature in something of this direction. But he himself could give up all his cherished plans and ambitions of this kind with such a tremulously happy smile of resignation, that it seems like a gentle kindly reproof to us for what we have just written. Nothing in all Mr. Arnot's sympathetic yet discriminating memoir is more touching than this, or more truly typical of the subject of it. We cannot refrain from quoting the passage:—

"These papers for *Macmillan* [On Erasmus] were only certain feelers put forth in the direction of a great design, to ascertain for himself whether it might be possible. The desire to write the life and times of Erasmus was a passion, cherished long and cherished deeply. With a view to it, he accomplished a great amount of congenial reading. The accumulations of material for this work are greater than for any other, whether actually accomplished or only projected. Besides many items in the ordinary stores of Bibline [or book-essence in the form of notes], a substantial book is dedicated exclusively to this subject, and is, to a large extent, filled with extracts, jottings, thoughts, and references. It is a curious receptacle: it is touching to peep into the workshop, now that the ingenious and busy worker is gone. His net had been spread out in all directions, and frequently drawn: the miscellaneous heaps that it had brought up at successive throws are carefully stowed away; each atom in its own place. The bones piled up in this department are very dry; but if the hand that gathered them had, for a few years longer, retained its cunning, the whole might have been compacted into one symmetric organism, covered with flesh, and heaving with the breath of life." —P. 535.

This is Hamilton's own version of the matter from his diary, in every way well worthy of a wide record:—

"*Nov.* 29, 1865.—On Monday I entered my fifty-second year, $3 \times 17 = 51$; other seventeen years would bring me on to sixty-eight, and I fancy that this is pretty nearly what an actuary would assign as my 'expectation of life.' Even this I cannot say that I expect, and it is solemn and somewhat mournful to think that three-fourths of existence are passed already. Within the last few months I have got a pair of spectacles, and the smaller kinds of print I cannot read without them. Other tokens of on-coming age will follow; indeed they are come already. *The figurative language I was once so fond of, I have nearly lost all liking for, and if I were following my own bent in preaching, it would be sober, explanatory, unimpassioned.* Ambition has given place to indolence, and the

grand projects with which I used to cheat myself, I have ceased to cherish. Sydney Smith beguiled his lazy horse into a quicker pace by fastening a sieve of oats to a pole a little in advance of the creature's nose; and through many a dreary day of calls and committees, and dry-as-dust documents, have I been carried by the hope that if I could only get through them, I might lawfully commence the *Magnum Opus*, *Christian Ethics*, *The Life of Erasmus*, *A Mind and what to Make of it.* But now the corn and beans are rattled in vain, and there is no make-believe in the wisp of clover. Reports, circulars, business letters, forty or fifty a week, I write resignedly, and in the usual dull, decent fashion in which such things should be done, and so shall continue till this hand forgets its cunning, (p. 550). And again: It would have been very pleasant to revise that prodigious range of literature, patristic and classical, of which Erasmus was the editor. Owing to a secluded boyhood, and unlimited youthful leisure, without ever attaining accurate scholarship, I have read in these departments more than most people; and, *after an abstinence of a quarter of a century, a strange longing for these books returns.* Like the daisies and dandelions that come up in October, it is the feeble revival of an impossible spring. For after giving to the work the spare hours and the autumn holiday of the last two or three years, I am constrained to abandon the task. This last winter had no leisure, and in the congregation a childish feud about the hymn-book was so conducted as to rob me of rest by night and peace by day; and, perhaps as a consequence of this, I find my elasticity a good deal impaired. So this day, with a certain touch of tenderness, I restored the eleven tall folios to the shelf, and tied up my memoranda, and took leave of a project which has sometimes cheered the hours of exhaustion, and the mere thought of which has always been enough to overcome my natural indolence. It is well; if a favorite play, it was also a great temptation. It was a chance, the only one I ever had, of attaining a small measure of literary distinction; and where there is so much 'pride and haughtiness of heart,' it is better to be unknown. Like the congregation of the Gascon preacher, who had forgotten his discourse, the world will never know what a treat it has lost; and not having this absorbent

for spare hours, it is possible that to wife and children, and people, there may be a gain in the abandonment of the *magnum opus.*"

And Mr. Arnot, with exquisite sympathy and good sense, adds:—

"In all his papers, I have not met with anything more affecting than this farewell. It is a right arm he is cutting off: he is wrung to the heart by the deed, and yet with his own hand he deliberately performs it. How sad and tender, in the light of subsequent events, is his allusion to the feeble efforts of the flowers to reproduce in October 'an impossible spring.' Already he felt the vital energies beginning to ebb. Yet, sad though this renunciation was, his obituary notice of the *magnum opus* concludes with a playful allusion—a smile is on his countenance as he announces its decease."—P. 538.

Gradually Dr. Hamilton grew more and more into a full realization of the dignity of the office of a preacher of the gospel. At last he comes to feel how everything else—every ambition and dream of life—fades into insignificance before the high calling of him who is an anointed proclaimer of the words of Christ, and a shepherd of men's souls. It is this, indeed, that seems to intensify and bring out into sharper relief, the links of association between him and William Burns. Everything, at last, is cheerfully resigned that is likely in the least to divert him from Regent Square and the work there. The scientific specimens are covered up or put out of view, the treasured literary gatherings of years, are bundled together and laid upon the shelf; an invitation from Edinburgh to become successor to Dr. Guthrie and colleague to Dr. Hanna, which held out a tempting prospect of pleasant and congenial society—of quiet and leisure for literary pursuits—is put aside without a moment's consideration. He is no more a divided man—the shadow of death is upon him, and through its brooding presence, he seems to have leaped in a moment to largest spiritual stature. Altogether a beautiful, happy, and successful life was his, with its many relations all dutifully fulfilled—a life which it does one good to know was lived—cheerful, busy, full of

results, as it was. From everything harsh, unpromising, and repulsive, Dr. Hamilton gathered something pure and fragrant; he got the wild honey in the rock, and found springs of water in the desert. What he said of another may be well applied to himself: "The world was not so good as he saw it; for a radiance went forth from himself and gave a bright side to the the darkest things."* This capability, indeed, was his leading characteristic. Mr. Arnot, when referring to the *Phantasiai*, a book for stray thoughts, which was instituted while he was still a student, says very significantly:—"His mind passed through the confused tumult of miscellaneous life as a magnet passes through a heap of sweepings from a factory, leaving everything that was mere dust behind, but with all the filings of real steel that lay in the way adhering to its sides, to be stored for future use." But even this scarcely does justice to Dr. Hamilton's happy industry. The magnet is somewhat too decided in its blunt rejections to completely represent his rare faculty. Is it not likely that he would have even turned back to the little dust heap and, picking out the more golden grains, have held them up in the sunlight, and drawn from them the neatest lesson in crytallization? His great *specialité* was to find and to give out pleasantly the secret and the meaning of insignificant or neglected things, and, by drawing into prominence their essential uses, to impart to them a rarer beauty. So, too, it was in his treatment of character, as beheld alike in these little sketches of the old divines and his more ambitious biographies. He found the best points readily, and he caught little traits which those who had gone before him had missed—traits, however, which shed a gracious justifying light over the whole life. It was the same in his contact with actual men and women. He soon detected the strength and the weakness of those with whom he was brought into relation, and made small things the medium of much pleasure. Who that ever met Dr. Hamilton in society would have expected to find this in his Memoir:—"'*Dining out' was in itself regarded rather as the thief of time;* but now having undertaken the charge of a magazine, devoted to literature and art, as well as morals and religion, he will find a use for everything. Men and women in general will go to constitute grist for his mill"? Or this:—"Here and

* *Memoir of J. D. Burns*, p. 4.

there he almost falls into a cynical vein, as he laments the needless waste of the treasure [time], in compliance with despotic customs, but the tone is immediately relieved by a slight dash of humor. . . . . His complaints are natural, and, in the main, well founded; and yet, if in these matters he had been permitted to carve out his own lot, it is doubtful whether the result would have been more valuable to the church or the world. The loss of the time, if he had taken it easy, would indeed have been a calamity; but the apparent paradox might, with a large measure of truth, be maintained, that *such a man's time cannot be lost.*" Whatever may have often been Dr. Hamilton's momentary feeling, certainly his happy temper enabled him to act as if he fully believed this, and to profit accordingly. Had the reader sat next him at dinner, he might have been inclined to think him a little bit of an epicure, because he knew so many strange things about fruits and dainty dishes, and could set them forth so pleasantly, and even with apparent gusto, little dreaming that the Doctor had left his library with such reluctance as made his coming to dinner amount almost to self-sacrifice. And in connection with all this, the following is assuredly significant:—"Hare's *Life of Sterling* is a book which gentlemen scholars like you should read, to *see the spiritual dangers of literary habits when not corrected by the tonic of some active and beneficent pursuit.* Sterling became a Straussian, and a great outcry has been raised against Hare for publishing a candid and friendly memoir; but *every lover of truth should be glad to get the true history of a mind so sincere and so finely accomplished, even though the ending is so sad.*"

Said we not rightly that the differences of temperament and tendency noticeable in the subjects of our two biographies drew backward, and that the points of likeness came more and more clearly forward as they entered into a wider, richer, experience? As Dr. Hamilton, without letting go any of his delightsomeness of character, became more and more earnest and severely self-sacrificing in respect to his calling as a preacher of the gospel, William Burns, as we shall see, grew softer, more kindly, as he grew older, taking a warmer interest in all these little things of the kingdom for which his friend had ever such a clinging tender regard and affection. Well said the old poet,

"Nothing grows like love;" had he been a Christian poet, he would perhaps have said, "The love of Christ is the secret source of all true growth in man."

Intensity of character—a determination to completely realize whatever the mind has projected—is the pervading characteristic of William Burns's life. As Hamilton is sweet, winning, diffusive, gathering up wealth wherever he goes by the sunny, insinuating gladness of his nature; so William Burns, by his eager, never-resting intensity, sets everything aside that lies in his way, and spurning obstacles, cleaves a path to his end. Nothing deters, nothing diverts him; drawbacks do not cool or abate his unwearying energies; successes do not excite him to self-gratulations, nor tempt him to rest in the pride of an end attained. Even in his earliest days this trait is predominant. He lifts up his axe upon the great trees near his father's manse, and by his unaided strength, completely clears the place. Melvin of Aberdeen awakens in him a love of scholarship, and he outstrips most of his companions in that field. Just as he is about to be apprenticed to a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, conversion comes, and, taking counsel of no one, he at once sets out for home, walking on foot, a distance of thirty-six miles, to prepare to study for the ministry. Nothing thereafter comes into his life to divert him in the least from his choice. He knows nothing of a divided mind, or of the evils that it brings with it. Once licensed, his joy is to preach to perishing souls the way of salvation through Christ, and no desire, no sweet human tie or claim of affection, ever seems to have for an instant withdrawn an iota of energy from the work in which he engages. Not that he was deficient in the affections of family, or in any of the human longings that make sweet the sense of brotherhood. Some of Dr. Islay Burns's remarks, on p. 306 of the Memoir,—in which the pen, already approved in other fields, has well approved itself, and almost as much by the leaving unsaid as by the saying—are most valuable in proving this; only his life was so completely possessed by one purpose, that lesser aims and ties were crushed out as insignificant by comparison.

Deeply touching, truly, are some of these references in the Memoir to the tender farewells he took of the persons and the

places he loved, when he was on the eve of setting out on far-distant enterprises. Let this stand for sample:—

"Before receiving the call to China he was studying the Gaelic, and seldom had the Gaelic psalm-book out of his hand, but soon after this we saw the Gaelic was laid aside and the Encyclopedia was brought out, and he was busy studying the Chinese characters. I don't think he gave a decided answer to James Hamilton before the meeting of the Synod at Newcastle; but having heard that some timid persons were daunted by some difficulties that stood in the way, he said, 'That's the very thing that makes my call clear to go,' and at once packed his little carpet-bag to start for Newcastle. The day he went off he was long in papa's study in prayer, and then coming out, he silently wrung my hand and looked solemnly round as if taking a farewell look of the house; he had his Breadalbane plaid over his arm, and after reaching the front-door he turned and hung it up in the lobby, taking one belonging to his *mother* instead, and giving me an expressive look as he did so. I was very much overcome, and watched his receding figure with the feeling that he would not return. I went into the study to give vent to my feelings, and found the Bible left open at Isaiah lxiv., 'Oh that thou would rend the heavens,' &c. On going up to the drawing-room I found the Gaelic Testament and psalm-book neatly put into one of the shelves, as if he had done with them, and I then said, 'William will return no more.'"

James Hamilton never seems to have passed through the awakening throes of a sudden conversion like that of William Burns; and it would have been as impossible for him to have, like William Burns, abnegated all the ordinary relaxations and enjoyments of social life, as to have lived upon air. But, luckily, the gospel does not require from each man the same identical form of self-denial; and in this regard, too, Christians may be helps unto one another by sympathy and mutual forbearances.

William Burns's life, then, is remarkable for the complete and severe unity which pervades it. He turns neither to the right hand nor to the left. In reading through this Life, we

have often been led to ask, Is it possible for any merely earthly object to engage the whole sum of a man's energies, as the preaching of the love of Christ engaged William Burns's? and as often we have been compelled to answer, No. In the gospel of Christ, there is that which awakens and meets the needs of every portion of man's higher nature. It brings the rebellious elements into subjection, and sheds over the whole mind a deep and abiding peace. William Burns found it so; when he had any distracting dispeace in his soul, he had no difficulty in tracing it to the emergence of self in some form or another. And yet he is anything but an unhealthy and self-analysing Christian. The peculiarly practical bent of his nature was quite enough to prevent this. His activity, in which he faithfully faced the hard facts of life in the open air, was enough to run off morbid humors. Here, at least, James Hamilton and he were like each other. Both were incessantly active; and their activity did much for their mental health, in the way of keeping a clear and bracing atmosphere about them, which encouraged the refreshing cold bath of renewed and determined effort. It is the same with William Burns in the midst of the revival scenes in Scotland in 1839–41, as in Ireland afterwards; in Canada in 1843–44, as in China from 1847 till his death. Circumstances do not affect this man in any way; he is wholly superior to them. Whether amid the colds of Canada or the summer heats of China, he looks out on a world that claims the same spiritual healing, and he is intent, in season and out of season, to minister it. His own words, which never express more than the true condition of his soul or the extent of his success, but generally rather less than the truth, are thus of peculiar significance: "I think I can say with truth, that God's presence or absence alone distinguishes places to me."

He is an enthusiast of a very peculiar type, if we admit him to be an enthusiast at all. He is not possessed by his ideas, notwithstanding the intense fervor of his nature, but possesses them in all soberness. He is never carried into rhapsodies; the remarkably sane, sedate, almost cold exposure of his words, in contrast to the heat that burns at the core of his matter, is what strikes and fixes one. It is like a fire tingling at the heart of an iceberg, making it clear and luminous even on the

surface, but not melting or softening it. One effect is, that he never slides off into the confusions of metaphor, and seldom draws forward into his discourses or letters long-linked details of his own inner religious experience. Christ is all in all with him; and the complete commanding beauty of the objective reality of that life so overpowers him, that, "striking on the chord of self," it passes "in music out of sight." The religious *selfness*, if we may name it so, which comes of the querulous exacting rehearsal of spiritual experiences, is sure to issue in a peculiar impatience of others—of their ways of feeling and their ways of working. There is no trace of this in William Burns. Having chosen his own path, he is not the least disappointed that others should seek out and follow theirs; and so be that they seem sincere and faithful, he is of one accord with them. And, considering the rare intensity of his character, it is remarkable that he seldom or never relapses into fits of dispiritment or feels the need of relaxation. He is supremely equable and self-reliant in midst of his strange subjective semi-mystical dependency.

But, as we have said already, that very thing which enables him to go forward so unwaveringly, disqualifies him, so far, for being closely associated with others in his work. We shall, in a moment, inquire more particularly into this; but we may remark here, that in this fact, we may have at least a partial explanation of the peculiar need he seems to have felt for moving away from a sphere of labor whenever other missionaries had pressed, or were likely to press, on into it. It could not be that he did not wish to see other men in the field, for he was constantly praying for more workers, and offered up for this object the most part of his means; in one instance, indeed, sending home a whole year's salary (£250) for the express purpose that another missionary might be sent out to China. But he seems to have entertained a deep conviction that other men were not likely to be influenced by the considerations which made the opinions of others of so little weight with him, and an individual course of action so needful to him. While, therefore, he was knit in bonds of tenderest sympathy with all who had dedicated themselves to any form of missionary work, he had a fear of overbearing their own thoughts and

wills by his supreme energy and influence, and wisely sought to save them from such contact as might have seemed to put them too much under the enervating consciousness of being left behind in zeal in the Master's service. His self-composure and his patient perseverance (very surprising, truly, in one who had met with such remarkable success at home) are only matched by the careful, almost womanly consideration he shows for other missionaries—one very beautiful instance of which is his devotion to Dr. Young when he was on his way home to die—and his rare delicacy, alike in word and deed, in everything where others might be implicated or the general mission cause prejudicially affected.

While, therefore, it must be admitted that he was in some respects too much a law to himself to be a good pattern for the general run of missionaries, it is most creditable at once to his mind and heart that he so clearly laid hold of this, and acted on it in such a manner as only exhibited the more his deep humility and sincerity—two elements, by the way, which are very noticeable in him, and out of which sprang no little of his success. He could not speak save when his own soul was moved by the truth he had to proclaim; and in some instances, amid the very fever of revival, he simply tells the congregation that to-day he has no message for them, and sends them away more deeply impressed, perhaps, than if he had spoken. It was this sense of humility and sincerity which gave him such power over the rough masses; for they felt there was something more in this man than eloquence, that there was an overpowering sincerity which at once winged his words and made them like hammers, striking and breaking flinty hearts. His appeals the hardest could hardly resist, and no wonder. "It is surely something unearthly that has come to the town," said one careless man; and many, very many, at home and abroad, must have felt the same. In Canada, not a man of the 93d but went home more or less affected by his preaching.

The secret of his incapacity to fall into routine ways of working,—to listen to the opinions of others, and to weigh and balance them in the scales of a semi-worldly prudence, had some connection with this sincerity, which led him to obey the promptings of his own soul, fresh from direct communion with

God, before aught else whatever. Confidence in himself was anything but characteristic of William Burns, but confidence in the message given him, while on his knees in prayer, he had an almost boundless confidence in. When, therefore, he silently declined to act on the advice of friends, it was not that he was strong-headed, but that his duty to God's voice, which had been clearly heard in his own soul, was imperative over all else. And yet it is clear that he very vividly saw and felt the claims the Church had upon him, and clearly realized how much he was her servant. Had it not been thus, he certainly could not have been so useful as he proved to the world at large. Let us try to see how this was.

William Burns's belief, while it rested firmly on the objective realities of Christianity, was essentially inward — so inward, indeed, that he had not a little in common with the mystics who have now and then appeared in the Church—sometimes shedding new life and blessing around them, sometimes sending spiritual will-o-wisps abroad, after which men toiled to find at last a tragic death in quagmires. His incapacity to accept outward guidance is the objective evidence of this; his full faith in revelations vouchsafed to him, even in reference to such arrangements respecting his personal movements as are usually left by pious men to be settled after a kind of prudent deliberation, is the inward or subjective one. This experience is only possible where there is an intense realized communion with God.

Speaking of Mr. Burns's itinerancy in the Perthshire Highlands, Dr. Islay Burns takes occasion to set down this passage, which, however, has a strict bearing on his whole labors:—

"The almost exclusively subjective character of his ministry stands out in the broadest light. . . . His preaching was in the strictest sense a cardiphonia—the voice of an instrument that could sound only as the breath of the eternal Spirit of God swept over it. Truth merely known, believed and arranged in logical sequence in the mind or in written discourse, was to him no message from God to human souls; but only truth, 'quick and powerful,' and glowing in living fire within the heart. . . . . I offer no opinion here whether the principle on which he acted was in itself just; or whether, if just for him,

the course of action to which it led were a fit precedent and example for other men. The question is not even properly raised in this form, for his whole ministry was so plainly exceptional, that no warrantable inference can be drawn from his case to that of others. His function and vocation was rather that of the old prophets, uttering from time to time the message and the 'burden' given to them under the immediate impulse of the Spirit who gave it, than that of the priests whose lips ought at all times to keep knowledge, and to impart its sacred lessons to others even when for the time they enjoy not the full sweetness of it themselves. Even those who may think that the principle on which he acted was carried out by him to too extreme a point, will scarcely deny the general truth, that, however it may be with the other functions of the pastoral office—as of instruction, admonition, counsel, persuasion, consolation—for the special work of awakening souls an awakened and immediate sense of eternal realities is of all things most essential. At least, if in this matter he erred, he erred on a safer side than that of those who would divorce altogether the message of the preacher from the experience of the man, and who can discourse of the deepest and most sacred exercises of the soul with an equally free and fluent speech, with a cold and with a burning heart."

This life of rapt and awful up-looking, which seeks a settled home on the lofty mountain-top of absolute union with the divine, inevitably tends to breed indifference to other ties and relations, which, if seen at all, are beheld as lying so far below, as to seem but moving and glimmering lines on the uncertain surface of the misty billows. Certainly it is an experience which does not encourage obedience to superior earthly authorities, or make the subject of it fit easily into the machinery of organizations. It is the temper which begot the ascetics of the early Church, the crowds of mediæval hermits, the ecstacies of the modern Madame Guyon and her followers, and the extravagancies of simple, soul-led George Fox and his first quakers. If unchecked by the powerful hold of holy tradition and example, its tendency is towards a rapt individualism, which is intolerant of all question, and contemptuous of all such ordin-

ances as would direct high impulses and control them within certain definite and beneficial lines of activity. It ever seeks to be a law unto itself. In most instances this spirit has come into play under a subtle and unaccountable principle of reaction, whereby the light of God's presence in man played up so distinctly against the hardness and outer polish of utter worldliness and degraded indulgence, that it was thrown back upon itself, intensified three-fold. Half blinded by such excess of light, it has turned away and stumbled on the hard road of pure inward self-development. Who, then, can tell how much we owe of the later fruits of William Burns's life to the revival movement of which he was at once the centre and the product? His work in China had scarcely been possible save for the revival, the revival had scarcely been possible had it not been for a long and quiet period of preparation. William Burns found a prepared atmosphere, which the faithful holy work of men like his father, the Bonars, and the M'Cheynes had produced. This was the heritage into which he entered—the sacred living lines of tradition by which he was held in steady practical contact with the Church. He early discovered in the very success of his preaching, that the glory of Christ was the first thing; that the conversion of sinners was best regarded as a means to that. This is a point which was noticed and commented on by Dr. Hamilton during the time of the Scotch revival:—

"I have seldom seen any preacher," he writes, "who so vividly realized things unseen, and who had so strong faith in the imparted strength of his heavenly Master as Mr. Burns himself. *I would say that he is more distinguished* (prima facie) *by zeal for the glory of Christ than, as I have noticed that many are, by mere concern for perishing sinners.* This gives a lofty bearing and an apostolical character to his ministrations, and keeps him from many sources of vexation to which others not so actuated are liable. I do not say that he wants the other motives to ministerial fidelity, but I do say that every other is with him subordinated to the noblest of all, *the exalting of Christ* in the salvation of souls."—*Memoir*, p. 143.

The very success of his first efforts for the glorifying of Christ in the conversion of souls, through the recognized church ordinances, made him feel towards all the customs of the church a kindly and self-sustaining, yet wonderfully self-restraining attraction. But that William Burns had to exercise discipline over himself in this respect, there can hardly be a doubt. He very soon perceived that to be true to his own soul, he must give up all idea of walking in the ordinary conventional life of a "settled" Scotch minister. He must hold communion with himself and his God, and walk according to the "still small voice" wherever that might call him to go; in spite, too, of all human claims and calls, and in the face of the warnings of relatives and friends. How difficult the problem! Yet Wiliam Burns, with his calm self-abandonment, through which he attained to a still higher self-command, was so filled with that altogether holy prudence, that in a great measure he was enabled to achieve this result. And this idea of duty to God, with which no other duty could be held to interfere, was so strong in him as to relieve his life from any sense of inward struggle or dividedness from first to last.

Nor can we pass on without devoting a word to this prudence which we recognize as springing out of his absolute sincerity and unfeigned humility—a prudence which exhibited itself in other forms beside his complete toleration and allowance for others in the sphere and the form of their work. In this he presents an altogether exceptional feature to what we meet with generally in men of his type. Not only is he self-controlled and patient under pain and injury—many religious enthusiasts have shown these qualities, mostly, however, along with a sort of half-hysterical self-assertion, which made them ambitiously seek for and vaunt their martyrhood. This was so, for instance, with Savonarola, the great preacher of St. Mark, and is especially evident in the case of the ordeal by fire. William Burns, though he would not have shirked duty to escape death, had no overweening desire to *make* a martyr of himself. In moments of danger or trial, he is as composed, and guarded, and cautious as any diplomatist, though, of course, always absolutely truthful. His reticence with regard to that attempt to reach the rebel quarters, and the prudence he showed when he was afterwards taken prisoner and brought

before Commissioner Yeh, are in this light very significant. He never fails to bear his testimony either. He declines to go down on both knees before the Chinese magistrate, saying that only to his God would he so kneel; but that he would go on one knee as he would to his own sovereign, which position the magistrate, struck by his evident honesty, permits him to adopt.

No doubt he owed much to the peculiar dash of his discreet, active, bustling mother in his temperament, which made practical energy a sort of necessity of his life. He must be daily in the open air, and have a considerable amount of bodily exercise. The youthful upbringing, indeed, reveals itself through his whole life in a healthy, out-of-doors tone, which imparts a peculiar strength and fullness of volume, if we may speak so, to the current of his spiritual life. He is not a valetudinarian or a weakling, but a robust man, whose every faculty is clear and active, in whom neither are the feelings slaves to the reason, nor the physical man to the morbid, over-active imagination. He is singular in the complete self-control and wise foresight which he exercises in every emergency, and also in the utter incapacity he shows to allow the line of apostolic prudence—or the being all things to all men to save some—to run into or be intersected by the lines of any self-interested prudence.

In view of all these things we are not surprised at the hints we have in the Memoir of the indifference with which Mr. Burns sometimes received suggestions as to his missionary operations from his friends at home, and from those who had sent him out to China. He must act as his own soul, steeped in the delight of secret communion with God, spontaneously prompted; and indeed, when once in the thick of his work, committees at home, save when viewed in strict relation to this, had scarcely any real existence to him. They were far away from him. He who is at the head of all committees and armies was very near, in times of emergency when friends could not aid, as well as when they could. To please those by whom he is sent, in affording them satisfaction in the result of their choice, is surely no unworthy object for a missionary far removed from home, to set before himself as an important,

though not *the* most important, aim of his efforts; but this feeling, in its lower form at all events, had no place for Mr. Burns's ambitions.

It is true, he had gone out to China as a missionary for the Presbyterian Church in England; but he did not go as an *ordinary* missionary. Something unusual and informal is certainly signified by the answer he gave at Newcastle on being asked when he could start for China. "To-morrow; I have everything with me," he had said; and, in the light of these words, we have an intimation of that note of apostolic singleness and simplicity and complete independence of conventional machinery and accustomed conditions which runs through his every movement, till at last he dies in the dingy room in the native portion of Nieu-chwang, refusing to be removed to the English quarter, and with only his Chinese assistants for his attendants. For the rest, what God should tell him was best for China, it was all along his destiny and his joy to do. If he had a regret as to any course he had taken, it was not because he saw it from a higher point of expediency or political prudence, but rather because he fancied still grander spiritual results might have been attained by the adoption of a different course, it may be even a more foolish-seeming one. But in the need he ever keenly felt for contact with fellow-Christians, in order to the reviving of the ebbing flame of his spirituality, he shows how, beneath all his holy assurance and boldness, there lay a gentle, lingering, reposeful attraction towards the church, viewed spiritually, with the rarest and choicest of whose influences he ever practically declares himself deeply in sympathy. The prayers of others are highly valued by him, and often solicited; and no higher pleasure could be given him than to solicit his interest for any person or object at the throne of intercession. His relation to the church of Christ, though very living and practical, was thus very marked and characteristic; and it certainly did not fail, as years went on, to have its own deep and abiding effects upon his mind and heart. "His enthusiasm took more and more a subdued Christian form; never vulgar, bustling, imbecile, unstable, or undutiful," it became sweeter and more readily receptive of sympathy; always calm and composed; manly, intrepid, and magnanimous; it showed

itself more and more "full of affectionate loyalty to the church and the truth."

Nothing, indeed, is more noticeable than the peculiar marks of spiritual growth we find in him as the end draws nearer and nearer. While he is as intense and eager as ever for the fulfillment of the one great work of his life, he becomes more tender, mellow, and considerate. The little things of the kingdom now lay strong claim on his attention, and assert their right to recognition. Mr. Bain, of Coupar-Angus, tells us with what loving simplicity, and with what gracious sweetness and kindly interest, he entered into the society of the children when he was home from China in 1854, adding, however, the characteristic touch, that he wrote down their names in order to pray for each of them by name. Mr. Bain writes:—"His spirit had now become riper and more mellow. Time and experience had wrought in him a gracious sweetness and human kindliness of temper, which in the young Boanerges were less conspicuous. He was more genial, more loving, more fully communicative, less restrained and austere than in former days. There was less fire, perhaps, but even more fervor; less of the Baptist – more of the Christ. It seemed as if the exalted tone of Christian devotedness which he ever sustained were now less with him a matter of effort and struggle, and more a holy habit in which grace had become as a second nature."

As for his life in China, it reads like a romance. He speedily mastered the language, with several of its dialects, and went continually from place to place, in face of the most terrible obstacles, compelling the love of the natives, to whom he at last got such access, that he found their kindness a sort of weight upon his progress in extending his conquests. Having adopted the Chinese dress, he went where no missionary had ever been before. But it is characteristic of him that he never encouraged this special attachment to his own person, the more as he was continually passing onward to fresh and unbroken ground, to dig, and plant, and water, and repeat the same process over and over again, with an unwearying stolidity scarcely possible in one much dependent upon the warm sunshine of human sympathy and encouragement. He was robbed of his little all repeatedly, yet he never complains, but

takes it all in good part, nay, rather finds in it an occasion for sowing seeds of gospel light which otherwise he could not have sown as he did. Struck with stones by a wild Romanist mob in Canada, he makes his bleeding face the ready witness of his indifference to personal comfort and well-being, and astonishes them all by his meekness; so in China, he proves that it is still possible to turn the left cheek to him who has smitten the right. This anecdote has gathered up in it the whole spirit of William Burns's life among the Chinese, and a rare humor breaks and ripples along the dark current of the transaction, arising out of his noble yet simple self-denial:—

"On one occasion the thieves broke open his quarters, and while he was present, helped themselves to clothes, books, and money, as they pleased, leaving him just enough garments for protection, and means to get back to Hong Kong. *One fellow had his hone, and being puzzled to know its use, brought it to Mr. Burns to know what it was fit for, and was patiently taught the mode of sharpening a razor or knife on it.*"

And to the credit of the Chinese be it said, they, at last learned to read rightly the grand characters in which this sublime life expressed itself among them, so that several churches sprang up as the direct fruit of his most self-denying labors. And when the end came, how fitly did all the circumstances attending it harmonize with the answer given that day, some years before, to the Presbyterian Committee in Newcastle. He was "ready, aye ready;" watchful after the apostolic model, he was also served and equipped after the apostolic model. Let this bear better witness than any words of ours:—

"The trunk which had come home from China, containing nearly all of the property that he left behind him, was opened, amid a group of young and wondering faces—a few sheets of Chinese printed matter, a Chinese and an English Bible, an old writing-case, one or two small books, a Chinese lantern, a single Chinese dress, and the blue flag of the 'Gospel Boat'—this was all. 'Surely,' whispered one little one, amid the awe-struck silence, 'surely he must have been *very* poor."

We need not add much more to our sketch of Burns, and to our contrast of him with his life-long friend, James Hamilton. We have not allowed ourselves to wander into the fragrant field of details which lay spread out so temptingly before us. Had we yielded to our impulse, we should have printed almost every other page. If our readers have not already perused these biographies, they will thank us for sending them to such fresh, genuine, and worthy works. The subjects were saintly men both, and though of very different types, they deserve to be long held in remembrance. In their lives and in their deaths they were not divided. As for William Burns, we seem to hear the verdict of the far ages already sounding clear over his life and work, with a note of wonder mingling in it, why such a man was on the whole so slightly recognized by the churches in general in his lifetime. Moreover we can imagine the future historian of nineteenth century missions finishing up a chapter on China with some such words as these:—"William Burns is distinctly the greatest missionary of modern times; with more health both of body and mind than Henry Martyn, with more energy and enthusiasm than Carey, and with more self-command than Xavier, he is such that had he been a Roman Catholic, he would assuredly have been canonized. Simply because of the innate and unconscious grandeur of his life, the impression made by his biography in its completeness, resembles what we should expect to be produced by some thoroughly Christian epic, in which the hero, devoted with absolute singleness of purpose to some great object, is followed through varied trials and changes of outward circumstances, until at last he falls in the midst of his labors, while only the first-fruits of the harvest of his efforts have become evident."

IX.—THE CORRUPTION OF CHRISTIANITY BY PAGANISM

IN THE LAST AGE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.*

The Roman Empire, although more than a thousand years have elapsed since its fall, has left indellible traces on all the institutions of the subject countries. As we have recourse to the code of Justinian and the rule of the Cæsars in order to explain the laws and government of Southern Europe; so, to account for its religious usages, we must go back to the ancient classics and the traditions of Olympus. The system from which most Teutonic races revolted in the sixteenth century, is a compromise between primitive Christianity and the older faiths which it is falsely imagined to have supplanted.

If the English Church is founded on the reconciliation of two adverse systems of religion, each of which finds its appropriate expression in our formularies, the same is no less true of the Churches of Rome and Greece. The Christian and heathen elements are quite as distinguishable to this day in those unreformed Churches, as are the Protestant and Catholic ones in what has been sneeringly called "the Elizabethan compromise." We must not be misled by the retention of venerable creeds, the name Catholic, and the episcopal succession. Great part of Christendom has never been generally converted to anything like the religion revealed in the New Testament. A minority of the inhabitants of the empire really embraced the Gospel, and were nominally joined by the rest of their fellow-subjects after Christianity became the religion of the sovereign. The united body, though still called by the old names, was as different from what it had been before as the mixed population of Samaria, after the Assyrian conquest, from the Israelites of

* From the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1870.

pure descent who had studied in the schools of the prophets. As the great river of America, after its junction with the muddy current of a longer and larger stream, preserves the name it bore when its water were still clear, so we still read of Catholic Churches of the East and West, though their whole nature had been altered by the irruption of half-converted Greeks, Asiatics, and Romans, since Constantine, himself a half-convert, first made the Christian profession safe and respectable. Heathenism, avowed in its own person, long, it is true, lingered not only in the rural solitudes, whence it derived the name pagan, but in the principal cities too. So late as in the time of St. Chrysostom the city where the disciples were first called Christians contained quite as many believers in Jupiter as in Christ. At length, however, the triumph of the cross, or, to speak more accurately, the amalgamation of the two religions, was complete. The temples were closed by the government, and the stream of worshippers diverted into the Churches, but they brought in most of their superstitions with them; and though the names of the ancient poetic mythology were no longer heard, a new collection of similar legendary lore soon gathered round the most revered personages of Christianity.

These convictions have often struck attentive observers of the popular religion on the shores of the Mediterranean. For where the peculiar civilization of the Roman world was most firmly seated the vestiges of its religion are naturally most conspicuous. The authors of "the Silver Age," afford valuable hints for working out the same train of thought. Neglected by students of classical elegance, they are of no small interest to the theologian; since they offer a lively picture of the latest form of heathenism, just before it merged in corrupt Christianity, and so enable us to perceive how the conquered religion, like ancient Greece, has enslaved its conqueror. At the present time, when Rome is pressing her claims upon us so imperiously, and when even the semi-barbarous East has its partisans, this historical argument seems peculiarly seasonable.

It is a duty we owe to common sense to bring theory and emotion to the test of fact, and to investigate the origin of the vast organizations which confront us, before, like so much inanimate matter, we yield to the mere attraction of their bulk, and

rush blindly into union with we know not what. Nor should we permit our judgment to be so warped by discontent at our domestic troubles as to accept *en masse* whatever foreigners offer. Should the Anglican Church be fallible or fallen, it by no means follows that the Roman is any surer guide.

That a vast revolution actually took place in very many of the doctrines, and in all the external usages of the Church, between the age of Constantine and that of Justinian, is a simple matter of history. The truth is too patent to be denied, account for it how we will. With this gradual change in the religion of the empire may be compared a similar one in that of the republic. The Romans, it is said, had no images of their gods for the first hundred and seventy years, and when, four hundred years later, the books of Numa, their lawgiver, were brought to light, the authorities found them so subversive of the then established idolatry, that they ordered them to be burned. So the Bible is suppressed in Romish countries now.

The worship of the early Christians, as described by Justin Martyr and other primitive fathers, was of the same spiritual character as that indicated in the New Testament. It was directed only to God; and, when we say God, we include God the Son, according to the testimony of Justin, and even of the heathen Pliny. The monuments of this period, preserved in the catacombs of Rome, bear no reference to the Virgin or the saints, or a purgatory after death. Rest and peace in Christ are the prevailing idea; the palm branch, the plain cross, or monogram the usual symbols. Dark, mysterious rites, strange cabalistic names and invocations, worshipping of angels, and other superstitions, partly of Jewish, partly of oriental origin, were by no means unknown; but they were confined to the Gnostic heretics, who also appear to have had some notion of a purgatory so early as in the time of St. Augustine. Tertullian contrasts the cheerful churches of the Orthodox, open on all sides, and lightsome like a dovecot on its eminence—"Domus columbæ nostræ" (alluding to the Holy Spirit), with the dim crypts where the sectaries celebrated their secret ceremonies. On the other hand, the pompous rites of the heathen are a never-failing topic for the eloquent invective of Christian apologists. Images especially; their makers and worshippers

are all included in the severest condemnation. Nor is this censure limited to images of the false gods, for we are repeatedly assured that the true Divinity could have no other image of himself than man created after his likeness.

But let us pass over a few centuries, and we find images first tolerated as ornaments of the Church in the time of Chrysostom; then approved as books for the instruction of the ignorant, as by Gregory in the sixth century, and in the seventh century grown into the universal objects of popular devotion: a practice defended by the popes, and by the last Greek father, John of Damascus, and finally established as the rule both of East and West at the second council of Nicæa, held in 786. The Blessed Virgin had been long before drawn from her previous seclusion, and presented to the world as the most influential personage in the heavenly court. Angels and saints shared her popularity. Relics had become articles of commerce, and objects of childish superstition. Prodigies of the most absurd description were believed without hesitation, while asceticism was carried to such a pitch that fanatics practised every kind of self-torture, and fed on grass, living naked in the open air, like the Faquirs of India. We are indebted for this comparison to Tertullian, who assures us that such extravagances were confined to the heathen in his time, the second century, and ranks it among the merits of the Christians that they gave them no encouragement. "We are not," he says, "unsocial, like Brahmins and Indian Gymnosophists, who live in the woods, exiles from the life of society, for we have learned that gratitude to the Creator requires us to repudiate no fruit of his works." As Tertullian was by nature inclined to austere views, his words are the more remarkable. They may be advantageously compared with the first Book of Evagrius, a writer of the sixth century, where he celebrates the excellent and divine life of the hermits of Palestine, who "so galled themselves as to seem tombless corpses, their outward form being assimilated to wild beasts, and their mind in a state no longer fitted for intercourse with mankind." The public opinion of the religious world must have been strangely altered when such maniacs as the historian describes were regarded as examples of triumphant virtue subduing nature.

Now what was the source of all these momentous changes, or, as Roman Catholics consider them, improvements, in the faith once delivered to the saints, and the rule of godly life? Were they contemplated from the beginning by the Founder of the Church, and revealed by Him to his first disciples, who handed down the tradition so secretly that for several centuries not a hint of it is dropped? Did they grow out of the original religion by natural development, as a plant unfolds its fresh branches? A parasite killing the tree it grows on would be a fitter simile. Or had the Church corporate, or the Roman Court as its head and mouthpiece, received authority from Christ to add to his religion new supplemental revelations from time to time, suggested by a permanent inspiration residing in some living authority? If we reject these theories, and they are no better than theories incapable of proof, opposed to Scripture and common sense, and inconsistent, too, with history, which shows us the various superstitions rising to notice, first, as half tolerated popular practices, not as promulgated by any ecclesiastical authority,—if, I say, we reject these fanciful suppositions, we are bound to offer some more reasonable explanation.

The one which seems most probable is that which ascribes the change in Christianity to its gradual fusion with the paganism of the empire. We shall first consider some of the circumstances which prepared the way for the amalgamation of the two religions, and then select a few out of innumerable examples to illustrate the manner in which heathen ideas and usages were adopted, and still maintain their ground in the unreformed Churches.

The revolution of which we are speaking had, like most others, various predisposing causes, which long wrought in silence before their effect became visible. Three are enough to mention: the irresistible tendency of the age towards superstition; the familiar intercourse between the heathen populace and the lower order of Christians; and, lastly, the credulity and false philosophy of most of the learned Christian divines, and their well-meant, but mistaken, policy in dealing with corruptions introduced by the ignorant. The condition of the Roman world from the very beginning of Christianity was

extremely unpropitious to the preservation of its purity, and as the ancient civilization declined, through misgovernment and social disorganization, it became increasingly difficult for the Church to struggle against the mischievous influences that beset her on every side. It has been remarked that there is no cause or institution that is not obliged to accommodate itself to the characterstics of its epoch, and to avail itself for its own purposes of the tendencies of the society in which it has to live. Now the chief characteristic of the period from the Antonines to the fall of the empire, was unquestionably a very low morality, having little regard to truth or honesty, and the tendency of its society was, on the whole, to gross superstition. Ghosts and genii peopled the imagination of the suffering subjects of Rome. Tales of witchcraft, magic, marvellous transformations, prodigies, and apparitions, fill the literature of the period, and even respectable historians regularly chronicle the omens and wonders with which each reign began and ended, while pious frauds and false miracles were of frequent occurrence. A critical or inquiring spirit or a love of truth is rarely discernible in the writings of the most learned authors. The poorer class would of course be still more given to idolatry and superstition, and it was among them that the lower order of converts were obliged to live. There was far more intercourse between the professors of the two religions than is generally supposed, and the warnings against too close association with heathens and imitation of their customs which we so often find in the fathers, show how much believers and unbelievers must have been thrown together, especially during the intervals of persecution. The Emperor Hadrian, a curious observer of religious novelties, draws a striking picture of the population of Alexandria in his day, and the strange confusion of creeds and customs in that great manufacturing and trading city. He represents the inhabitants as carried away with every wind of doctrine. "Those who worship Serapis are Christians, and those who call themselves Christ's bishops are devotees of Serapis; people are Jews, Samaritans, soothsayers, presbyters by turns. They were very busy and industrious, but the only God they worshipped was no God. Him Jews, Christians, and Gentiles all venerate." There must have been doubtless some

foundation for this caricature, since the Fathers often complain of such unsteady professors, and Lucian, in his account of the philosopher Peregrinus, gives us a lively representation of a false brother, who for a time imposed on the simplicity of the faithful. But the credulity and degenerate philosophy of the fathers themselves rendered them very imperfect guardians of the purity of the Gospel. These were faults of the age rather than of the men, but they were not on that account the less but rather the more mischievous. Every concession they made to popular superstition was so much ground lost forever, while their feeble protests and cautions were treated with indifference and soon forgotten. Their credulity betrays itself in a proneness to rely on spurious authorities like the Sibylline books, &c., and to believe every strange story that seemed to favor religion or to be honorable to the Church. Chrysostom, indeed, confessed that miracles had ceased, and assigned reasons for their discontinuance; but the majority of the fathers lived in an atmosphere of prodigies. Men of great natural good sense, master minds of their age, are among the worst offenders in this respect. As for example, Athanasius in his "Life of Antony," and Gregory the Great in his dialogues. In fact, the world was fast sinking into a sort of intellectual twilight, in which events were seen not as they really are, but as magnified and distorted by the passions and prejudices of the observer. Moreover, the Christian divines, in their very writings against the philosophers, show themselves deeply imbued with the spirit of Platonism, a philosophy of most superstitious tendency. Doubtless great part of their success in propagating the Gospel was due to their perfect accordance with the taste and temper of their times and country. Unlike our modern missionaries, they were educated in the same school of thought with the people whom they sought to convince, and could reason with them on their own ground. Still philosophy, and especially the debased philosophy of the later empire, was no true yoke-fellow with the simplicity of the Gospel. As early as the Apostolic age, affected singularity in worship, devotion to angels, and curious speculations about genii and their pedigrees, a fondness for fabulous stories and ascetic counsels of perfection, all symptoms of Gentile philosophy, are mentioned

by St. Paul as already infecting Christian societies. The semi-Christian bodies, called Gnostics, first allowed their fancy to run riot among these follies, but they never wanted partisans even within the Church. Treatises on the celestial hierarchy and on fasting and celibacy, and rules for austere living, falsely attributed to Apostles and apostolic men, are popular productions of the first ages.

The fathers of the Church were at a loss how to deal with the superstitions which made their appearance from time to time, often under a show of piety and good intention, not propounded by Rome or any other authority but among the common people, inconsiderately caught up, as it were, from the paganism with which the very air seemed charged.

Origen and Jerome devoted great learning, and greater industry, to the interpretation of Scripture, and brought to their task a more enlightened critical spirit than is usual in our own day in the Church of England. But the subtle philosophic tastes of Origen induced him to countenance various errors, especially the extravagant employment of allegory, after the example of the later Platonists. Jerome, on the other hand, with characteristic impetuosity, urged the Church forward in the dangerous courses of monastic asceticism and veneration of relics.

Augustine reckons the worshippers of images and pictures (for there were some such already among Christians) with drunkards and other scandalous offenders; but then he palliates the superstitious practices at martyr's tombs, and by his irresolution on the subject of purgatory had considerable share in importing that doctrine from his early Manichean teachers.

Chrysostom is a sensible expositor; but he, too, was carried away by the fashion of the day, and abuses his eloquence to justify a young friend, who broke his parents' heart, and brought on himself epileptic fits, by running away from home and giving himself up to self-torture in a monastery. The sober-minded presbyter Vigilantius alone perceived that such popular fanaticisms must, like drunkenness, be encountered by total abstinence, instead of being treated with mild excuses, concessions, and gentle cautions against excess.

Some apology is required for dwelling so long on the dark side of the patristic teaching. The writings of the Greek and

Latin fathers have a peculiar charm for those who have sufficient learning and perseverance to attempt their study. It is not the less to be regretted that, occupied as they mostly were with controversies on the abstruse topics of the Trinity and Incarnation, grace and free will, and the origin of evil, they were not at liberty to pay more attention to the superstitions of the vulgar, but, beguiled by the appearance of good intention, and laudably anxious to facilitate the conversion of the heathen, permitted these novel practices to grow, first into tolerated customs, and then into established traditions. The enemies of the Catholics kept a sharper look-out for their short-comings, and were the first to call attention to the silent revolution which was going on. Thus Faustus the Manichean objected that the Christians of the Church were turning the martyrs into idols, whom they worshipped with vows like the pagans, and appeased the shades with vows and meats. To which attack, St. Augustine has no better answer to make than to taunt the heretics with their own superstition about a purgatory, and to say that mere likeness to the heathen was not in itself objectionable. "As we have nuns," he says, "although the heathen had Vestals, so we may feast at the sepulchres of the martyrs, although the pagan custom has been to banquet near tombs." It may be thought, in the light of later events, that the good bishop's argument should have led him to an opposite inference, and that seeing one heathen custom after another, in rapid succession, adopted by professing Christians, he ought to have suspected the propriety of monastic vows, rather than have used them to justify paganized celebrations in honor of persons who had suffered for their opposition to paganism.

Meanwhile, as the two great communities grew nearer to each other, and grew better acquainted, the pagans began to imitate the Christians, as well as the Christians to borrow ideas from the heathens. Thus Hadrian built temples to the god without a name. Alexander Severus had a domestic chapel (*lararium*), wherein he offered morning prayers before images of the good princes, and of such other holy souls as Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, and Alexander the Great. He would even, it is said, have recognized Christ among the gods

of the empire, and have built a temple in his honor, but that it was feared that then everybody would become Christian and the other temples be deserted. The prayer of the priest of Isis, in Apuleius, has likewise a flavor of Christianity about it.

"Standing before the doors, he read out of a book from a high pulpit solemn prayers for the prince, the senate, the equestrian order, and the entire people of Rome, the ships at sea, and all the subject provinces. After which, according to Greek custom, he proclaimed in that language, λαοις αφεσις, dismissal for the people. On this the congregation shout assent (amen?) and go home."

Who does not recognize the prayer for all conditions of men, and the mysterious "ite missa est," the innocent origin of the word *mass*, so terrible to all zealous Protestants? After the proclamation of dismissal, the initiated enter the shrine of the goddess through the veil, and engage in further devotional exercises, which are but dimly hinted at. The idle attempt of Julian to reform paganism on the Christian model belongs to this same period of transition, when the rival religions were endeavoring to strengthen themselves by borrowing, each, the most attractive and popular features of the opposite system.

It is curious to observe how, during all the changes that followed up to modern times, the various countries and cities of the Roman world have preserved some traces of a local coloring and character in their several adaptations of their earlier to their later faith. Thus Ephesus and Athens have been, as one might expect, the earliest seats of that enthusiastic devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary which has replaced the worship of the virgins Pallas and Artemis. And it is to Irene, an Athenian lady, that the Eastern Church is chiefly indebted for the preservation of image worship, which might probably have been finally abolished if she had not become empress. St. George, one of the most popular saints of the East, still connects with the neighborhood of Joppa the slaughter of a monster and the rescue of a distressed damsel, just as in the old local legend of Perseus and Andromeda. Spain, early familiarized by Phœnician colonists with the union of cruelty and devotion, has in

modern times made human burnt sacrifices the essence of her most imposing religious pageant, her most joyous festival and special national "act of faith." In that country, too, the more innocent Oriental custom of sacred dances still lingers before the altars of Seville. The initiation of Julian in the heathen mysteries at Paris, is exactly reproduced in the mediæval legend of St. Patrick's purgatory, reminding us that Gaul and Ireland were peopled by the same Celtic race. In both cases the mysteries were celebrated in caves, and fiery apparitions and terrors were succeeded by visions of comfort and brightness. In the neighborhood of Arles the names of two patron saints, St. Victor and St. Martha, preserve the memory of the victory of Marius over the Cimbri, and of the prophetess Martha, who encouraged him; while the peasants still keep up the custom of lighting bonfires on the feast of St. Victor, just as they used to do in ancient times on the anniversary of the great battle. In Rome the union of civil and religious authority in the same magistrates, the Pontiff-King, and the "congregations," as they are called, of purple-robed cardinals, recall to our thoughts the imperial pontiffs and the dignified colleges of Flamens and Augurs of the ancient commonwealth. Indeed we can read on the pedestal of the same obelisk the names of two Pontifices Maximi, the one a pagan prince, the other a Christian pope. The childish credulity of idle Naples—"otiosa credidit Neapolis"—continues unaltered to the present day. Witchcraft and fascination by the evil eye are universally believed in; and as incense was supposed to liquefy without fire in the heathen temple, so is the congealed blood of St. Gennaro in the Christian Church. In the Eastern Church holy fish may sometimes be seen, as in the church of a monastery near Constantinople, so that the ancient "superstition of consecrating animals," as Tertullian calls it, is not even yet entirely extinct. But one of the most extraordinary accommodations of heathen ideas to corrupt Christianity is the now obsolete form of asceticism, introduced by Simon Stylites in the neighborhood of Antioch, and very popular during the last age of the Roman Empire. We are told by Lucian, in his interesting treatise on the Syrian goddess, that in Hierapolis, on the Euphrates, there stood a renowned temple of the Assyrian Juno, in front of

which two columns, each thirty cubits high, were set up in the shape of phalli.

"Now it was the annual custom for a priest to climb to the top of one of these pillars by the aid of a cord drawn round the column and his own body, in the same manner as the gatherers of dates ascend their palm trees. And the reason of his going up is this, that most people think that from this height he converses with the gods, and asks blessings for all Syria. He remains there seven days, drawing up his food by a rope. The pilgrims bring some gold and silver, and others brass money, which they lay down before him, while another priest repeats their names to him, upon which he prays for each offerer by name, ringing a bell as he does so. He never sleeps, for if he did it is said that a scorpion would bite him. Moreover, this temple exhales a most delightful perfume like that of Arabia, which never leaves the garments of such as approach it."

Now with the classical author's account compare the narrative of Evagrius four centuries later. "Simon of holy memory originated (?) the contrivance of stationing himself on the top of a column forty cubits high, where, placed between earth and heaven, he holds communion with God, and unites with the angels; from earth offering his intercessions on behalf of men, and from heaven drawing down upon them the divine favor;" but it is too painful to proceed with the tale of degrading superstition that could once delude great cities and sovereigns, and even impose on so learned a father as Theodoret. "Whenever," we read again, "any person approaches the spot where is deposited the precious coffin in which are the holy relics, he is filled with an odor surpassing in sweetness every perfume with which mankind are acquainted." What can be plainer than that we have here no apostolical tradition or inspired devotion, but simply a revival of the old national superstition of the country? According to the bold metaphor of Juvenal, "the Syrian Orontes had once flowed into the Roman Tiber." So now the whole Euphrates had poured into the Christian Jordan, and swept away pastors and flocks together.

No event of this period created a greater sensation than the discovery of the relics of St. Stephen. When discovered, they were guarded by two large serpents, tame and harmless, like the snake which appeared to Æneas at the tomb of his father Anchises.

But let us pass from these anecdotes of the fifth century to what may be seen every day in the churches of the Continent, and see whether the pagan element be not still unmistakably present in the unreformed part of Christendom.

The visitor, as he enters some great Roman basilica or Belgian cathedral, can no longer complain as the pagans used to do, "Why have these Christians no temples, no altars, no familiar images?" All around are chapels like the minor shrines which encompassed the temple of Capitoline Jove. Some are private *lararia* belonging to certain families, and containing their tombs before the images of their patron *divi*. Others are in honor of the special heavenly protector to whom the city or church is dedicated. For, as Tertullian remarks, "Every province or town has its own peculiar tutelary power;" and Ammianus Marcellinus shows how countries obtained their patron saints before the rise of Christianity, where he relates how the city of Mopsuestia was called from Mopsus, who lost his way when returning from the Argonautic expedition and died suddenly in Africa, where "his heroic manes covered by the Punic soils are very effectual in healing a variety of sicknesses." All the altars are adorned with large candles, but the favorite image is especially distinguished by a multitude of wax tapers, the offerings of devout persons.

Thus the temple of Daphne is said to have taken fire from the wax candles which Julian's friend had left before the lofty feet of the image before retiring for the night—"accensis cereis ex usu cessit." "They light up tapers and candles before their idols," says the eloquent Lactantius, "though what can be greater absurdity than to imagine so to propitiate the Creator of light and of the sun? Leave we these follies to the false gods, which must needs be in the dark if we do not supply them with such artificial illuminations." A partiality for candles in the daylight is an infallible token of a superstitious taste. In many Roman and Greek churches there are to be

found images, pictures, or relics, possessing miraculous properties. A chalice has been filled with blood instead of wine, as in the pious fraud of the Gnostics exposed by Hippolitus, or an image has sweated and leaped like the Palladium mentioned in Virgil, or winked like the "stones which are called living" that Heliogabalus carried off from the temple of Laodicæan Diana. Images wrought by angels, or painted by St. Luke and sent down from heaven, are not uncommon, and recall the Διοπετής of Ephesus, the image which fell down from Jupiter, mentioned in the Acts. If we may believe Lady Herbert, the practice of flagellation is still in constant use in Spain, and we all know that the small scourge called a discipline is an essential appendage to a strict Romish devotee. It is not recommended in the Bible or by the primitive fathers, but we find it in high esteem among the priests of Astarte, from whom, no doubt, its use was transmitted to the paganized Christians. Apuleius thus describes it:—

"The fanatics seize the scourge, which is their peculiar implement (*gestamen*), and lash themselves unmercifully with repeated strokes, being fortified against the pain with marvellous constancy. I was surprised on beholding their wounds, and the blood streaming on the ground, how the stomach of the foreign goddess could endure such a spectacle."

The same author elsewhere presents us with heathenism under a more pleasing aspect:—

"I beheld," he says, "maidens strewing flowers, followed by a great number of persons of both sexes bearing wax candles, in order to propitiate the Lady Daughter of the Stars. Then came boys in white, chanting a melodious hymn, next a crowd of the religious, male and female, with pure white dresses; the women wearing white veils on their heads, the men in linen robes, with their hair shorn. Some beating their breasts, others bearing palms and pyxes, the mystic symbols of our Lady of Help. Finally, the long succession of images, altars, and sacred vases, is closed by a priest, from whose shoulders hung down to the ancles a precious cloak, embroidered all over with strange animals, such as Indian dragons and Hyperborean

griffins, men call it the 'Olympean stole.' This priest carries on his happy bosom the ineffable and indescribable symbol of the Supreme Divinity. It was not like any living thing, not even like man himself, but was the inexpressible manifestation of the highest and most mysterious secret of the religion; in short, a small round urn of polished gold exquisitely wrought."

After reading this account of the mysteries of Isis in the last age of paganism, we can be at no loss how to explain why the Host is carried in procession in a golden pyx or monstrance, on the festival of Corpus Christi in the modern Roman Church. In the primitive Church of Rome there was no Host at all. "Hostias domino offeram?" "Shall I offer victims to the Lord"' is the indignant question of the Roman Christian in Minucius Felix, "when the victim fit for sacrifice is a good mind, a pure understanding and sincere judgment?" The very shape of the consecrated wafer is borrowed from the round cakes of flour customary in the heathen sacrifices. Communion in one kind seems to have passed into the Church from the Manichean heretics, of whom St. Augustine says, "vinum non bibunt." If we may believe the same father, those heretics also entertained some very gross and carnal notions as to the corporal admixture of a divine substance with the bread in the eucharist, which may have suggested the idea that developed into transubstantiation at a later period. The words of the mass are, for the most part, the pious and Scriptural prayers of the early Church, and as there is no reason why they should be kept secret, it seems strange that they should be read in an obsolete language, and muttered over so as to be unintelligible even to good Latin scholars. But the difficulty is explained when we refer to pagan usage. The Hymns of Ancient Rome were read, we are told, in an ancient tongue, "scarcely understood by the priests themselves, but which a reverential scruple forbids to be altered." An affectation of mystery was, no doubt, the cause why priests, enchanters, and other pretenders to the supernatural, endeavored to conceal what formulæ they used. The Egyptian language was preferred by sorcerers, as we learn from Lucian, and he tells us of a Chaldean enchanter who offered a long prayer to the rising sun, "which," he adds, "I could not well understand, for, like bad criers in the mar

ket-place, he pronounced in a hurried and indistinct manner, only he seemed to be invoking certain demons, and murmuring certain foreign, barbarous, obscure, and polysyllabic words." This description applies to many of the devotions of the unreformed Churches, especially to the administration of baptism, which, to a stranger, has completely the air of an incantation. But let us turn to what is, after all, the most popular and characteristic part of the worship of modern Romanism. The high altar is by no means the most revered spot in the sanctuaries of the Continent. Behind that altar is a chapel, more richly decorated than any other part of the church, where a group of worshippers may generally be found even when no service is proceeding.

The object of this intense devotion may aptly be described in the language of Lucian, speaking of the image of the Syrian goddess:—

"We behold a majestic female, larger than life, all covered with gold, and precious stones, and rich attire. Its head is surmounted by rays, its hand bears a sceptre, and its eyes seem to follow every one who looks at it; beneath are placed numerous lamps, and votive tablets and wax models are hung around (precisely as in the chapel of the Virgin now), memorials of cures and deliverances wrought by the patroness of the sanctuary."

The image of Juno at Hierapolis had some other noticeable points of resemblance to those of the Blessed Virgin in the south of Europe. Thus, when it was carried in procession to the lake near the temple, it seemed to guide its bearers, as it were directing them by reins; and it would sometimes refuse to stir till entreated by the high-priest himself, just as in the legend of St. Cuthbert's journey to Durham. "Now there were many fish in the lake, and for their sake great care was taken that Jupiter should not see them until Juno had first been brought down; for all the fish would die if his image were to draw near, but she, standing close at hand, keeps him off, and, by many entreaties, dismisses him pacified." The student of art need not be reminded that this is exactly the part assigned to the Virgin in the legends of the Church of

Rome, for she is represented in countless pictures as standing before her Son and deprecating his vengeance, on behalf of mankind. As the cultus of the Blessed Virgin Mary is every year rapidly on the increase, and threatens ere long to be the one religious idea of a large part of Christendom, it becomes a most interesting question to ask, whence it is derived. Scripture is silent. The fathers, even of the later centuries, were decidedly opposed to it. Everything proclaims it to be an inheritance from paganism. In all heathen systems a prominent share is taken by the worship of nature. Her various powers and aspects have been invariably personified under the character of ideal and mostly feminine being, to whom the imagination of poets has subsequently assigned fanciful names, and allegorical actions and offices. In the decline of the classical paganism, the old poetic legends of Greece, Rome, Asia, and Egypt were subjected to philosophic treatment, and the substantial unity of the various goddesses come to be generally recognized. Thus the devotee of Isis in Apuleius addresses his patron deity as follows:—"O Queen of heaven, by whatsoever name thou art called, whether benign Ceres, or heavenly Venus, or sister of Phœbus, or awful Proserpine,"—and this, indeed, seems to have been the doctrine revealed to the initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis, but which moreover insisted much on the sorrows of the goddess, meaning, as is supposed, the grief of nature for the bloom of spring blighted by scorching suns and desert storms. Now with the public mind saturated with such notions as these, and inured by the habits of ages to the contemplation of womanly grace, purity, loveliness, tenderness, and, above all, maternity, what a void must have been felt on the promulgation of Christianity! Indeed, the writings of the fathers prove that this was the principal stumbling-block in the way of the Gospel becoming popular. A King of Heaven had been revealed, but where was the Queen? Her throne stood empty. The personified Church—"Jerusalem, the mother of all"—seemed a cold abstraction, and failed to content the popular craving for the familiar form of the heavenly lady.

Men did not think of calling God our Father and Mother, as Theodore Parker used to do. The heretical sects again and again introduced some female saint or heavenly being, a Hel-

ena, or such-like imaginary creature, to the notice of the Christian public; but the void was not filled up, and the demand for a goddess was increasingly experienced, as ignorant converts pressed into the Church under the Christian emperors. At length, in some of the eastern controversies of the fourth century, attention was almost accidentally drawn to the position of the Virgin Mother. The subtle disputes about the nature of the God-man drew men's thoughts to Mary, and at once, just as in the electrotype process, the floating paganism, which hung diluted in the spirit of the times, precipitated itself around her figure as a centre, and overlaid the simple Mary of Nazareth, as she appears in the Gospel, with a gorgeous and elaborate chasing of variegated superstition. By a curious felicity every traditional feeling, every passionate longing of the old faith, found what it needed in some aspect of St. Mary. As Virgin, she gratified the admiration for maidenly purity expressed in the worship of Minerva and the chaste Diana, the latter resigning to her the crescent moon, which a happy misapplication of the Apocalypse placed beneath her feet. As Mother (*Theotokos*), she realized the aspirations of the devotees of Cybele, mother of the Gods, and Demeter, the sorrowing parent, whose grief for Proserpine was perpetuated in her dolors at the cross. Like Vesta, she has priestesses devoted to perpetual virginity. A queen of heaven like Juno, she is like Venus Aphrodite, connected with the *sea* by a false etymology of her name. She has, too, somehow appropriated a star like the old Grecian deity, and is much worshipped by mariners as the star of the sea. Women bewail her griefs as they did those of Venus Astarte for Adonis or Tammuz. As Spouse, by some wresting of the Canticles, she is no less renowned, and is as much worshipped in the Levant as ever Isis was; and here, too, the dolors find a place, for the sorrow of Isis for her murdered husband was every year commemorated by a solemn fast. Nor are howlings at night wanting to complete her resemblance to *Hecate*, as Ford has justly remarked in speaking of Spanish customs. This strange metamorphosis of the modest retiring woman Mary into a gaudy, bustling, interfering, spiritual potentate, delighting in fine clothes and coarse flattery, was first encouraged by a council at Ephesus, which had been for

ages the seat of the worship of a virgin goddess, and it was finally sanctioned by another council held in Bithynia, the favorite haunt of the Idæan mother of the gods and her followers, the Corybantes. The time and space forbid me to bring forward other illustrations, with which all antiquity abounds, of the transition from paganism to corrupt Christianity.

It is by no means implied that *everything* pagan was on that account unfit to be incorporated in Christianity. Some of the usages referred to were simply the natural expression of devotion; others, as embroidered robes, chanting, and incense, had been sanctioned in the worship of the Hebrew Church. The object of this essay is merely to remove all mystery from the peculiarities of unreformed Christianity, and to show that it has nothing which may not be satisfactorily accounted for by natural causes. No doubt many pagan customs were adopted without any bad intention; or, as in the recommendation of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury, with the good object of winning the heathen to the Gospel. The ceremonial and legendary system of paganism had many romantic charms which are still retained by them under their Christian dress. But though some admixture of pagan ideas and practices might be innocently tolerated, it is quite another matter when we see a vast structure of errors, such as Apostles and martyrs died to withstand, superadded to the faith once delivered to the saints. Tacitus tells us that even the ancient Germans thought it unworthy the dignity of heavenly beings to fashion the gods after the likeness of the human countenance. It is to be hoped that no nation of Teutonic descent will voluntarily return to that half-Christianized paganism of Rome which its ancestors rejected.

N. G. Batt.

BRIEF NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Guericke's Church History,* though less learned than Giesseler's and less suggestive than Neander's, has certain advantages as a manual and may be used with advantage by those desirous of gaining a general view of the history of the church. Prof. Shedd, who issued a translation of a part of the work in one volume in 1857, has in the second volume completed the translation down to nearly the end of the 11th century. The English sentences are idiomatic in structure and more than usually free from foreign modes of expression.

Jones' Hebrew Grammar† is unfortunately so full of errors, especially in the vowel pointing, that it cannot be safely used by beginners, for whom it was professedly prepared.

Whately's Peculiarities of the Christian Religion,‡ contains his views on the revelation of a future state, the declaration of God in his Son, love to Christ as a motive to obedience, the practical character of Revelation, the example of children as proposed to Christians, and one or two other subjects, expressed in his own clear style, but not always commanding assent. This volume also contains his well known "Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Bonaparte," in which the folly of the skeptical style of reasoning sometimes applied to the Bible history is keenly and wittily exposed.

Henderson's Commentary on Ezekiel§ gives a new translation and critical notes on difficult passages, but is not sufficiently full and exhaustive to meet all the conditions of the commentary now needed on this prophecy. As yet, however, it has no superior in English.

* *A Manual of Church History.* By Henry E. F. Guericke, Professor in Halle. Translated by Wm. G. T. Shedd. Mediæval Church History. Andover: W. F. Draper, 1870. 8vo, pp. 160.

† *The Elements of the Hebrew Language.* By. Rev. A. D. Jones, A.M. Andover: W. F. Draper, 1870.

‡ *Essays on some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion.* By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. From the 7th London Edition. Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1870. 12mo.

§ *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, translated from the Original Hebrew. With a Commentary, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical.* By E. Henderson, D.D. Andover: W. F. Draper, 1870. 8vo, pp. 228.

We have great pleasure in mentioning the Relief Map of Palestine, about 10 by 12 inches in size, by Rev. Wm. L. Gage of Hartford, Conn., who will forward it by mail to any address on the receipt of one dollar. The study of such a map will certainly give to children and even to older persons a much clearer impression of the physical geography of the Holy Land than they could get from the ordinary maps.

It was a happy thought of Dr. March of Philadelphia, which he has very successfully carried out in his recent work "*Our Father's House*,"* to exhibit the more striking objects in the realm of nature in close connection with religious thought. The publishers, in the numerous and fine engravings scattered through the book and in the style in which it is printed, have left nothing undone to render it attractive.

LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE.

The Publishers' Circular of April 15, says: "It is not generally known that the 'North British Review,' for a long time the special organ and champion of the Free Church of Scotland, has for some time past been the property of and edited by a Roman Catholic gentleman."

Mr. Murray has issued in London the prospectus of a popular edition of the Bible, to consist of a plain Commentary on the Authorized Version, with amended translations of all passages proved to be incorrect in our Version, and presenting the results of learned investigations during the last half century. The Bishop of Ely will produce the Commentary on Genesis.

Dean Alford has resigned the editorship of the "Contemporary Review" in order to get on faster with a Commentary on the Old Testament for English readers.

The Society at the Hague for the Vindication of the Christian Religion has given a gold medal to the author of a "History of the religious movements in Asia Minor during the two first centuries of our era, in which the place belonging to the New Testament writings, which, composed in Asia Minor or relating to it, is exhibited." The Directors offer prizes for approved essays on the

* *Our Father's House, or the Unwritten Word.* By Daniel March, D.D. Zeigler, McCurdy & Co. Philadelphia, 1870. 8vo, pp. 560.

following subjects: An apologetic treatise on the permanent value of the Christian Religion; What has Jesus taught upon the destination of every man to moral perfection, and what may be decided upon this question on philosophical grounds; Historical development of faith in the moral order of the world, with the definition now to be given to it and an examination of the question how far it is to be regarded as indispensable to morality; On what theological and anthropological grounds rests the knowledge of the universal right of freedom of conscience; The relation of Jesuitism to the principles and the historical development of the Christian Church, and what is to be expected from it in the future; The influence exerted by philosophical Systems upon Christian Theology in Holland since the Reformation.

Besides the works on Theology or kindred subjects noticed in the ECLECTIC, there have been published in the

UNITED STATES:—*Cowles*, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, with notes, critical and explanatory. 12mo, pp. 364, $2.—*Ellis*, The Martyr Church: a narrative of the Introduction, Progress, and Triumph of Christianity in Madagascar. 8vo. pp. 404, $2.—*McClintock and Strong*, Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, vol. III, $5.—*McDonald*, Vital Philosophy, a Survey of Substance and an Exposition of Natural Religion. 12mo, pp. 384, $1.75.—*Winchell*, Sketches of Creation: some of the grand conclusions of the sciences. 12mo, pp. 459, $2. —*Lenormant*, The Student's Manual of Oriental History to the commencement of the Median Wars, vol. I. 12mo, pp. 538, $3.—*Browne*, Immortality: four sermons before the University of Cambridge, being the Hulsean lectures for 1868, $1.

GREAT BRITAIN:—*Taine*, English Positivism; a study on John Stuart Mill. 5*s*.—*Warrington*, The Week of Creation: or the Cosmogony of Genesis considered in its relation to Modern Science. 4*s*. 6*d*.—*Gloag*, Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. 2 vols. 21*s*.—*Taylor*, The Gospel in the Law; a critical examination of the citations from the Old Tes tament in the New.—*Hunt*, Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the end of the last Century.

X.—HENRY AINSWORTH.*

Henry Ainsworth belongs to the comparatively few who have left the image of a beneficent life distinctly behind them. The name carries in it the permanent, indestructible *eicon* of one of the world's real worthies, whose fruitful toils and deeds of faith have made the world richer. The image of his individuality, which he projected, is growing faint and dim with lapse of time, and, to the glance of casual observation, may already appear indistinguishably blended with others of greater or smaller dimensions. A veritable image of his true self he did project, nevertheless, on his own generation, and far beyond it, and its outlines are not yet quite obliterated. He was one of whom it may be said with truth, that he *served* his generation, and while serving it, left the visible impress of his mind and character on its history. He was one of the true teachers of men, who taught by the example of a heroic Christian life, and courageous self-devotion and fidelity to principles, and to a cause almost universally in discredit in his own day, not less than by the force and fulness of truth in all that he wrote. As a biblical scholar, he ranks among the foremost that England has produced; in the special department of Hebrew learning, it may fairly be questioned if he has since been surpassed in his own country. In the opinion of one who would not readily be suspected of intentional partiality to one of his sect —Dr. Worthington of Cambridge—"he seemed to have had as much acquaintance with every jot and tittle of the Holy Text as any of the Masorites of Tiberias."

But apart from his undoubted eminence in the ranks of the learned, Henry Ainsworth holds a position of peculiar interest in English church history. The principles, to the advocacy and success of which he devoted the energies of his active life, have since been so extensively adopted in their essential form,

* From the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, April, 1870.

so successfully applied, both in England and in America, that the difficulties with which the early defenders of these principles had to battle, to conquer for them the bare rights of life, are very apt to be forgotten. Ainsworth was the chief pillar of a religious community, which was formed in considerable obscurity, which was for some time small and despised, as small things usually are, intensely hated, however, by the Christian churches in general, for the desolating doctrines of ecclesiastical authority suspected to be inchoate in its bosom, and therefore relentlessly persecuted. In order the more effectually to stamp out what was thought to be a pestilent new heresy, it was deemed prudent to huddle its adherents out of the country. So extremely trifling was the progress which the fundamental principle of Protestantism — the liberty of conscience—had yet achieved in England, a century and a half after the Reformation began.

The majority of these forlorn pilgrims sought an asylum in Holland, where, besides a few more scattered clusters, they eventually formed two considerable congregations, one at Amsterdam, the other at Leyden. The history of this handful of exiles, maugre their dejected condition, has acquired an importance wholly disproportionate to their number, from the fact that they constituted the parent stock from which the Congregationalists of Old and New England have sprung by direct lineal descent, and the Quakers also by indirect issue. This is the outcome of the policy which would defend the unity of the church by repression. What may be said to have specially distinguished this community from the general body of Puritans, was a clearer comprehension, and a firmer grasp of the idea of a *free* church as the essential condition of a really *reformed* church; a deep conviction of the absolute necessity of unfettered self-action, in matters of discipline and government, on the part of the church, to make a true reformation possible. Nor were they content with secretly nursing this conviction, when once formed, in their bosom, until times were more auspicious; they resolved to give it a practical application, and proceeded to associate together for public worship, in regularly organized societies. Most of the Puritans had much the same ideas of the extreme desirableness of more religious liberty,

but it is remarkable how prone they were, in the earlier stages of their struggle, to beg the smallest doles and dribblets from constituted authorities, as if these had a kind of acknowledged right to withhold at discretion. A new step was needed. The experiment was bold as it was hazardous. To organize a church on the basis of the inherent right of its members to associate together for mutual edification—to attempt nothing short of the metamorphosis of the existing ecclesiastical institutions, independently of State action, of bishops, of the grand machinery of convocations and synods—was going straight in the face of venerable traditions and hoary customs, acting in open defiance of dominant theories of church authority. No wonder the attempt was regarded as an ebullition of fatuous fanaticism, which merited no better entertainment than an unreasoning, uncompromising hostility. But the times were ripening for some such experiment as this in England. Every effort to bring the Church of England into greater harmony with the other churches of the Reformation, in doctrine, discipline, and government, had signally failed—there was little encouragement to continue the fruitless struggle—the idea of abandoning her, like a stranded old hulk, by the silent process of a voluntary separation, was now started, and was rapidly gaining converts in different parts of the country. Robert Brown began to proclaim this idea nakedly, and perhaps somewhat offensively, at Norwich, about 1581, with considerable success, and his name furnished a denomination to the adherents of the new movement. The "Separatists" universally disowned the designation of "Brownists," and for that reason, their enemies continued to apply it the more persistently—not because the term embodied a historical fact (for the idea of separation, in some shape or other, had been broached ten years before it was advocated by Brown) but because it savored of opprobrium. But if Brown's name was calculated to bring odium on any party, it was the Established Church, of which he was a minister for forty years after he had abjured the principles of Separation. Hanbury's remark is needlessly severe when he says that "Brown left to the Church of England the legacy of his shame." He had been excommunicated, it is true, for his early Separatist proclivities, but was afterwards

lovingly received back into the bosom of the church. We know little more to his honor or shame, except the alleged maltreatment of his wife, which, according to Hornbeck, he defended by a refined metaphysical distinction, that he beat her—*Non ut uxorem suam, sed ut pessimam vetulam.* The late Dr. Vaughan, however, in his "History of Nonconformity," takes a very different view of Brown's relations to early Nonconformity from Hanbury's. He does not shrink from allowing him the honor of having been the first man in English history to avow the great principles of religious liberty, in the form in which it is now held by English Congregationalists. We have been unable to follow Dr. Vaughan in his opinion of Brown. But the point is one of little practical importance.

The Separatists differed little from the rest of the Puritans, except in this particular, the propriety of a separation. The majority of the latter virtually pleaded the necessity of the times for a partial conformity, and, to many of them, the word *schism* had an inexplicable terror. Differences did, however, develope in course of time, principally bearing on the form of church government. In doctrine, they were essentially at one. It was not in order to bear testimony to any particular Christian doctrine, that the necessity of a separation was pleaded, but from a settled conviction that the form and organization of the church, as constituted under Queen Elizabeth, was hopelessly corrupt, a hindrance to the free development of Christian life; and that, from the peculiarities of its constitution, it was incapable of any useful amendment. And now, looking back on the history of the English Church during the three centuries which have since intervened, that history, we think, furnishes abundant proofs that this judgment was fully justified and substantially sound. Even at the present day, there are not a few earnest spirits, helplessly chafing under the yoke of the stiff, impracticable constitution of that church, whether the tendency of their conviction is towards a more pronounced Protestantism, or Romeward, who entertain just as faint a hope of the possibility of amendment as did the Separatists of three hundred years ago.

The bishops appear to have detected in this new movement the results of the most dangerous opinions yet propounded

among the Puritans, and they accordingly determined to deal with it summarily. The Act for banishing the Brownists was passed in 1593, and the clearing system, which was continued with occasional intermissions for the next twenty years, began with a vengeance. Those who refused "to come to church" were allowed the mild alternative of incarceration in some noisome dungeon, with the gallows in perspective, or "for ever abjuring the realm." But the latter alternative was not long left a matter of choice. With all its bitterness and attendant hardships, the numbers availing themselves of this mode of escape from ecclesiastical despotism were increasing at an alarming rate. The advocates of extreme measures were astounded with the unexpected results of their policy, and chagrined at its impotence. Men accustomed to regulate their own conduct and opinions by a polite conformity to the conventionalities which happen to be in the ascendant, find it hard to understand the motive power of great principles, or to believe in any other dynamical forces determining human actions than mere calculations of self-interest. They cannot comprehend the ardor and resolution, the unquenchable moral enthusiasm, inspired by profound religious convictions. The spectacle paralyses them.

The exiles did not consist, as the bishops had anticipated, of a few obstinate desperadoes and incorrigible fanatics; they were principally yeomen and substantial traders, who left all to win religious freedom, and for conscience's sake. They counted among their number not a few distinguished for talents, learning and piety. With Ainsworth and Johnson at Amsterdam, and John Robinson at Leyden, whom Principal Baillie, the uncompromising enemy of the sect, describes as "the most learned, modest, and polished spirit of them all," the church of the separation was ably represented. Ainsworth was not at first the most conspicuous of the Separatist leaders —notoriety was none of his aims—but he was unquestionably the ablest advocate, the most steadfast and active champion of their principles. He was fitted, by a rare combination of gifts and acquirements, for the leadership of a party whose faith and fortitude were severely tested by the trials incident to their lot, as strangers in a foreign country—by the undisguised

hostility of the Dutch clergy, and by the unmigitated rancor of their enemies at home. His faith in God was as a steady flame,—his devotion to the cause with which he identified himself, no adversity could quench,—he possessed a full measure of self-reliance, a healthy, robust faith in himself, faith in the future, faith in the ultimate success of their policy, in the spirit of it at least; a virtue which very wise people might have been disposed to characterize as at best a fanatical clinging to vague and impracticable ideas. Yet he had to verify, to some extent, in his own experience, the truth of Plato's observation, that—"for the trial of true virtue, the good man, even though he do no wrong, must suffer the infamy of injustice." His memory has, in a measure, shared the injustice which he experienced in his lifetime. It would be difficult to name another, within the last three hundred years, who has written so much and so excellently, of whose personal history biographers have been able to tell so little, and even that little mixed with fable and unhappy conjecture. The time and place of his birth were alike regarded as unknown; and the incident, half tragic, half romantic, with which tradition associated his death, invested the *finale* of a chequered life with a kind of mysterious interest. Two diverse characters—the imperturbable calmness of the devoted student, and the warm temper and invincible resolution of a ready and vigorous controversialist—were so admirably sustained in his person, that in some of the earliest biographical accounts of him, he stands for two different individuals. In Moreri's "Biographical Dictionary," and in Zedler's "Cyclopedia," there is a notice of two Henry Ainsworths —the one, Dr. H. Ainsworth, a learned Biblical commentator; the other, H. Ainsworth, and arch-heretic, and the "ringleader of the Separatists at Amsterdam." But notwithstanding the apparent incongruity of the combination, the "learned commentator" and the "arch-heretic" of Moreri are one and the same Henry Ainsworth. Even the titles of some of his books, which, according to the usage of the time, are amply descriptive of their contents, and somewhat ambigous from their copiousness, have so far misled some writers, as to ascribe to him the authorship of imaginary works. A little fact, which suggests a suspicion that the said writers drew the substance of

their information from book catalogues. We have perused upwards of a score of biographical sketches of Ainsworth; but with the exception of *two* or *three*, they seem to be mere dishings, more or less meagre, from Hornbeck's "Summa Controversarium," Baillie's "Dissuasive," and Neal's "Lives of the Puritans," in which the mistakes of these *authorities* are retained with a laudable fidelity, and occasionally supplemented by the inventive imagination of the several writers, according to their respective mental bias. The time of Ainsworth's birth has usually been fixed, with a convenient indefiniteness, "about the middle of the sixteenth century," and the date of his death varies considerably, from 1622 to 1639, thus reserving a safe margin of seventeen years. A moderate acquaintance with his own works would have rendered this random hitting at an invisible mark unnecessary. The preface to one of his *posthumous* works, written by a member of his congregation, is dated 1623! Curiously enough, Dr. Halley, in his recent interesting "History of Lancashire Puritanism," oblivious of this little fact, puts his death at 1629. The most accurate, and by far the most satisfactory account of Ainsworth hitherto written, the most justly appreciative of his character and work, is that prefixed to a reprint of his "Communion of Saints," etc., issued at Edinburgh, 1789. The author, however, laments that he had been unable to procure some of Ainsworth's minor works, and but scanty extracts from others—that all he can offer to the reader as a life of his author, is little more than "a few meagre anecdotes." Our own investigations have been somewhat more successful than those of Dr. Stuart (the reputed author of the "Life" referred to). Many new and interesting facts, illustrative of the history of the Separatists, have been brought to light, within recent years, by the Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society; not the least important of the documents recovered by this Society, the History of the New Plymouth Colony, by Governor Bradford, who had been himself during fourteen years a member of the "English Exiled Church in the Low Countries," and personally intimate with Ainsworth. Bradford's history gives valuable glimpses into the circumstances and condition of the exiles, with brief but admirable characteristic sketches of the chief personages among them.

Henry Ainsworth came of an ancient stock, and possessed a full share of the sturdy qualities with which Lancasterians have been usually credited. He was born at Plessington, in Lancashire, in 1560. This is nearly all that is known with certainty about him till he was about thirty-six years of age. The family, which appears to have become extinct about the end of last century, held a position of considerable local importance among the gentry of Lancashire for upward of four hundred years. "It is not so well known," Dr. Halley pertinently remarks, "that this poor scholar was brought up in all the comforts of a wealthy Lancashire family." It was not, then, any such motives as might possibly influence a gifted youth, struggling with adversity, that determined Ainsworth's choice of association with the fortunes of the Separatists. The force of inward convictions, the imperious dictates of conscience alone, could induce him to renounce those "comforts," and the hopes of an honorable ambition, that his talents and superior scholarship might warrant him to entertain, and which could hardly have failed of procuring him fame and emolument, had he chosen to devote them in the interest of the dominant ecclesiastical party. The liberty of conscience, which he valued above all price, was a costly indulgence. And, in common with many others, he had to purchase it with tossings to and fro from place to place, with much suffering and privation, and with enforced banishment from his native country for a quarter of a century. The malignant spirit of persecution followed him into the place of his exile, with coarse slander, illimitable scoffing, and false accusations, to prejudice him, and the church to which he ministered, with the people of Holland.

Dr. Stuart observes that "no *Alma Mater* has put in a claim for the honor of such a son," and, like many before him, is puzzled as to how he came by that learning for which he was distinguished, and which was not to be acquired, in his day, beyond the precincts of a university. It is now, however, ascertained that he studied at Cambridge, then the focus of Puritanism. We suspect that the genius of T. Cartwright was still potent at Cambridge, and that Ainsworth, like many other young and ardent spirits, felt its invigorating influence. The disrepute in which the sect to which he afterwards attached

himself, was almost universally held, will sufficiently explain the oblivion into which his name was allowed to sink at the University. How deeply the reproach of Brownism had sunk into the public mind, may be gathered from the tacit admission of it even by Milton in his Defence of the People of England, where he repels Salmasius's charge of Brownism on the English republicans with scornful indignation. But a more unequivocal expression of this feeling is furnished in Howel's "Familiar Letters," where we meet with the following charming confession:—"I rather pity than hate Turk or infidel, for they are of the same metal, and bear the same stamp as I do, though the inscriptions differ; if I hate any, 'tis those schismatics that puzzle the peace of the church, so that I could be contented to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back."

It has been assumed that Ainsworth joined the exiles in Amsterdam in 1593, but without good grounds. F. Johnson, his future colleague, was pastor of the congregation whose headquarters lay for a long time in the region of Islington. When he was discovered and apprehended, along with several members of his congregation, Ainsworth's name is not mentioned in the list of prisoners, nor in any of the official or public documents referring to the sect. The inference is warranted that he was at the time at home in Lancashire. And this inference is corroborated by certain incidental allusions in the writings of his contemporaries. One of his most foul-mouthed detractors, who was no stranger to his past life, admits that—"many good Christians did lament his fall (his separation from the national church) in the place where he lived in England, while commending his innocent life, and praying for his enlargement from his miserable schism." This requires that he was well known, where his "innocent life" elicited commendation from those who regarded his subsequent conduct as almost tantamount to forsaking his salvation. Nor did he yet harden into the irreclaimable Separatist while at home. For we are told that when a young man, and before he left England, he did, at the persuasions of his friends, occasionally go to hear "a godly minister" of the Conformists preach, which was charged on him by the more rigid Separatists for apostacy.

Was this the ground of Baillie's charge of "inconstancies" against him, and which he interprets as a plain indication of the divine judgment on the way of Separation?

As the prognostics of the coming storm were growing more legible, many of the disaffected anticipated the Act for Banishing the Brownists, by withdrawing betimes from the country. And when the Act did pass, Ainsworth was too conspicuous a mark to escape observation and too determined in his nonconformority to hope for leniency. He therefore retired from England, but not to Holland, as is generally supposed, but to Ireland. Every writer who has given an account of his life, mentions his journey to Ireland, but, strangely enough, the time and the occasion of it is unquestionably mistaken by all. Hornbeck's account is to the effect that, when the controversy about the eldership culminated in the division of the congregation at Amsterdam, party feeling ran so high that Johnson, with his followers, was obliged to retire to Embden, and that Ainsworth went to Ireland for a season, where he left some followers. Subsequent writers have adopted this version of the "learned and accurate" Hornbeck without doubt or question, in some cases improving the occasion to accumulate ridicule on the sect. The journey to Ireland would, according to this version, have occurred in 1611 or later. Unhappily for the story, and for the heap of elegant sneers and refined sarcasm on the quarrels of the sect, of which it is the sole foundation, an examination of his own letters, prefaces of his own books, and other available data, prove conclusively that Ainsworth remained uninterruptedly at Amsterdam from 1598 to 1614. And when we recollect that all his Annotations, and a number of other important works, were produced after 1611, one or more works appearing annually, it will appear pretty certain that he never quitted Amsterdam after his first arrival there. An incidental allusion to this journey to Ireland, in Bradford's "Dialogue," shows it to have been made, as we have already stated, before going to Holland. It seems that the extreme poverty of the unfortunate exiles, formed a fertile theme of ridicule to their persecutors at home. Ainsworth, "the Rabbi of their church," reported to be starving on ninepence a-week, or subsitsing on "boiled roots!" Surely, the Almighty, in

righteous anger, had forsaken the sect for forsaking the church! Bradford admits the reproach of poverty, and accounts for it. His words are worth quoting:—

"Their condition was for the most part very hard. Many of them had long lain in prisons, and were then banished to Newfoundland, where they were abused, and at last came to the Low Countries, wanting money, trades, friends, and knowledge of the languages to help themselves. . . . . The report of Mr. Ainsworth (living on boiled roots) was near those times when *he was newly come out of Ireland* with others, poor, and being a single young man, and very studious, was content with a little. And yet to take off the aspersion from the people in that particular, the chief and true reason thereof is mistaken: for he was a very modest and bashful young man, and concealed his wants from others until some suspected how it was with him; and after it was known, such as were able mended his condition."

The above extract explains, and sufficiently disposes of, the historical error we have been animadverting on.

Chill penury, if it does press too heavily, and overwhelm the spirit, may prove a valuable ordeal of compurgation to the individual as well as to a society—it discovers a man's true metal. In the case of Ainsworth, a period of trial and privation, far from depressing, added resolution to courage. While earning a precarious livelihood in the capacity of a bookseller's porter, he toiled and wrote in defence of his cause, snatching occasional opportunities at the expense of necessary rest and sleep. The first object of the exiles' anxiety was to remove the prejudice of the Dutch clergy against them, by a full exposition of their principles, and of the grounds of their separation from the Church of England. This was attempted by the publication of their elaborate "Confession of Faith," in Latin, accompanied with a historical preface. In furtherance of the same object, Johnson and Ainsworth opened a correspondence with Professor Junius at Leyden, hoping to engage his sympathies, and to win his great influence to conciliate for them the goodwill of the Dutch ministers. But the learned professor had already, after a troublous voyage, got into safe harbor, and he had little heart to sally forth again to the assistance of such as

were still tossing on the billows. He scarcely gives his correspondents common civility. He is very lavish of admonition, plentifully seasoned with pious exhortations to submit to their fates with becoming humility—to cultivate a spirit of charitable forbearance towards their enemies—above all things, to endeavor to keep quiet: oh! the unspeakable blessedness of keeping quiet! Except that it affords the philosopher a valuable glimpse of a phase of human nature, this correspondence accomplished little immediate results.

This "Confession" of the Separatists is a most interesting document. It consists of forty-five propositions or articles, every one of which is fortified in the rear by a most formidable battalion of Scripture texts—proving at least how laboriously the compilers searched out the principles they maintained in the Scriptures. It was not intended to form a standard by which to regulate the faith and doctrine of their church in future. The Separatists repudiated the principle of creating a standard or test of orthodoxy. They had learned the futility of such devices for the preservation of truth and purity of doctrine—nor could they very consistently undertake to sanction a policy which might tend to abridge to others that liberty which they now claimed for themselves. The "Confession" is purely apologetic—explanatory of their principles and defensive of their position. The 39th article is a singular phenomenon in a document characterized by so much enlightened liberality. It lays down, among the duties incumbent on princes and magistrates, that of suppressing and eradicating all false religions, and the enforcement on subjects, whether ecclesiastical or civil, of their duties to God and man. True, the doctrine of magisterial duty here laid down, was universally held by all sects and parties in all the churches—a remarkable illustration of the chaotic state of opinion as to what is implied in personal responsibility and liberty of conscience. This doctrine, moreover, cut away the ground from under their own feet. We do not see what further argument Elizabeth and James, and Whitgift and Bancroft needed, to plead in justification of the ecclesiastical policy which they pursued, beyond that with which the Separatists supply them in this very article of their "Confession." Confused and inadequate as their views of

freedom in the domain of conscience were, their circumstances, and the necessities of their position, were not long in schooling them into far different opinions, and of helping them towards a clearer conception of religious liberty. The principle of magisterial authority in matters of religion, which they conceded, was strongly pressed on the Dutch magistrates against themselves from all quarters, happily without success. It is to the eternal honor of the statesmen of Holland, that they steadily disregarded the clamors of ecclesiastics, and succeeded in upholding the principles of an enlightened toleration, at that critical period of their country's history, in spite of the boundless obloquy and abuse poured on them, both by the clergy of their own church, as well as by many in England and Scotland. And the time was not far distant when English Puritans and Scotch Presbyterians had abundant cause of thankfulness, that the policy which they had branded as "carnal, worldly, and godless," did not break down under their own repeated assaults. Baillie calls Holland "a cage of unclean birds;" and Bishop Hall reproaches the Dutch with permitting their country to become a "common harbor of all opinions and of all heresies." The dramatists employed their wit and satire on the same delightful theme, *teste* Ben Johnson's "Staple of News," and Fletcher and Beaumont's "Fair Maid of the Inn." It does not appear that any Dutch philosopher or divine elaborated a theory of religious toleration, but Holland has an indisputable claim to the honorable distinction of practising the amplest toleration, at a period when the rudiments of the doctrine were but dimly apprehended by the most enlightened minds in other countries.

But protection from open violence, and immunity from magisterial interference, did not secure tranquility to the exiles. Without were fightings still, and the elements of dissension began to manifest themselves within. A nervous anxiety to keep themselves clear of the suspicion of harboring dangerous or erroneous doctrines, will perhaps explain their readiness to enter the lists with every opponent that challenged their principles or position. It was a custom of their opponents to identify them with the most infatuated heretics that disturbed the peace of the Christian church in former ages; and there was

no great difficulty of believing anything of a party who had committed the enormity of forsaking "their mother church." With the appearance of Ainsworth, in the capacity of an independent champion, the apologetic tone of their earlier publications was in a great degree abandoned. He wisely assumed the offensive, thus reducing his adversaries to the necessity of defending their own position. We freely grant, however, that in his first encounter, his personal character appears to better advantage than his arguments. This was a dispute provoked by H. Broughton, respecting the material of Aaron's ephod. The controversy, however, speedily passed to the question of excommunication, as practiced by the Separatists, and the repetition of the Lord's prayer in public worship, which Ainsworth, in common with the Puritans generally, condemned. The grotesque representation which Heylin gives of this dispute, and which has been adopted with avidity by most subsequent writers, as admirably fitted to give pungency to their satires on the whimsicalities of the Separatists, would make it worthy to be classed with the puniest debates of the schoolmen. According to Heylin's account, the question about which two learned divines fought like Greek and Trojan champions, was, "whether the color of Aaron's ephod was blue or green!" To be sure, the matter debated was not of vast importance to the church, but it was not quite so absurd as Heylin's ludicrous story would make it appear. But why drag Aaron's ephod into a dispute between Churchman and Separatist? Why, is not very evident, unless to illustrate the marvellous ingenuity of controversial zeal, which is never at a loss how to magnify trifles. The ephod was "a ceremony figuring holiness," its substance must therefore be pure—but the worm is unclean, therefore silk, the production of the unclean worm, must not enter into its composition. That is the positive side of the argument. What was the precise bearing of this controversy, on the propriety or impropriety of the Separation, is a question which may safely be left where the combatants left it—in the dark.

Ainsworth appears to much better advantage in his next polemical publication, entitled the "Counterpoyson," the first edition of which appeared in 1608. This work has been sometimes erroneously attributed to Henry Jacob; it has also been

confounded with a work, bearing the same title, by Dudley Fenner. The "Counterpoyson" is mainly a spirited reply to the objections of the Puritans to the Separatists' position. A Mr. Bernard valiantly took up the cudgels in defence of the "Apostolic Character of the Church of England," and against the "Separatists' Schism." His pretentious performance is somewhat feeble in argument, notwithstanding the ostentatious array of Scripture texts and quotations from the fathers. If it were possible to give an idea of the contents of two considerably bulky volumes in a few words, the line of attack and defence might be indicated briefly as follows:—Bernard urges the stock argument of the prelatists (1), the *novelty* of the Separation. *A.* Novelty is a word to frighten the simple—this weapon wounds your own hand; you may have many more hard words from your right reverend fathers and fellow-priests against presbytery and the discipline. (Bernard had enlisted before under the "Holy Discipline," for which he lost his living). (2.) *B.* You follow the ancient schismatics. *A.* What answer can you make to the Papists which will not better clear us? (3.) *B.* The divines of the Church of England, both living and dead, condemn this way. *A.* The divines and rabbins of Israel condemned Christ's way, &c. Apart, however, from the *tu quoque* argument, the "Counterpoyson" contains an able defence of the Separation, on the plain and simple ground of necessity, if they would maintain public worship in a tolerable degree of purity. Ainsworth treats the authority of the "Fathers," on a question like this, as Cartwright did before him, with contempt.

The most elaborate of Ainsworth's controversial works, entitled "A Defence of Holy Scripture," was directed against a Mr. Smyth, who, after passing through sundry revolutions of opinion, adopted at last some of the wildest theories current among the Anabaptists of Holland, and begun to bitterly attack the Separatists. The government, ministry, and worship of the Separatist Church, is here set forth and defended. The work contains a forcible and lucid exposition of many passages of Scripture.

Ainsworth did not confine his labors to the necessities of his sect; they contemplate the interests of the Christian church at

large. Indeed, the "Counterpoyson" excepted, the interests of the sect appear of secondary consideration in all his works. And this is specially true of his "Censure" on the doctrines of the Familists, which tended to the subversion of social morality; "The Trying out of the Truth," in a correspondence with the seminary priest, or Jesuit, John Ainsworth; "The Arrow against Idolatry," and the "Seasonable Discourse on a Dialogue of the Anabaptists." The "Arrow" is remarkable, not less for its elegant style and exquisite irony, than for the acuteness and learning with which the argument is conducted throughout. We need no apology for quoting the remarks of Dr. Stuart on the character of this work:—

"The chief object of the author is to expose the superstition and idolatry of the Church of Rome. In prosecution of this design, however, he traces these to their sources, in the notions and inclinations common to all men; and applies his dissuasives to every kind and degree of the same iniquity. The parallel he has drawn between the antichristian idolatry and that of Jeroboam, is peculiarly ingenious, and equally solid, and the pleas which he supposes him to have used in self-defence, together with his replies to them, manifest no common degree of invention and judgment. When it is considered that Ainsworth wrote at a period in which the art of composition was almost unknown, the force and eloquence of this performance show him to have possessed very singular talents, and to have excelled most of his contemporaries in good writing, as in the understanding of the truth."

It would be unnecessary to mention here several other small works of a polemic character, besides those already noticed; as they bear principally on the questions which agitated, and eventually divided, the congregation at Amsterdam, they can be of interest only to the student of church history. But Ainsworth did not confine himself to the field of controversy; necessity, not choice, alone urged him into conflict with any man. And as soon as comparative quiet afforded the opportunity, he devoted himself to his "Annotations," and to works of a purely didactic character. Among the latter may be mentioned "The Communion of Saints," published in 1615, and the "Orthodox Foundation," a posthumous publication. The

former of these has been many times reprinted, and is pretty generally known. The latter seems to be a skeleton of a projected theological work. Small and unpretentious as it appears, it was evidently the result of much thought, and contains, within a few pages, the substance of a considerable volume.

Ainsworth's first effort in the field of Biblical literature is worthy of special notice, both for its own peculiar character and merits, and also as a genuine literary curiosity. We may remark that one of the calumnies circulated, and widely credited on the representation of Heylin, against the Separatists was, that they entertained an aversion to the singing of psalms or hymns, and to the use of tunes in public worship. It must, indeed, be recollected, that the apparatus for congregational singing in English was, in their day, of a rather sorry description. The attempts at a metrical version of the psalms produced little better than doggerel rhyme, and the tunes were uncouth. Ainsworth, more than once, tried his hand at the divine art of poesy. Following Beza in his unhappy attempt to turn the Canticles into verse, Ainsworth turned the Song of Songs into English metre. We have not been fortunate enough to see this metrical version of the Canticles, but a writer in the *Athen. Oxon.* is not likely to be far wrong, when he says that the author was to be commended "for a better commentator and converser in rugged studies than a delighter in the softer paths of poetry." It was not, however, an ambition to distinguish himself in the paths of poetry, that induced him to undertake the preparation of a metrical version of the Psalms, so much as the sense of the value of singing as an element of public worship, and a desire to supply the wants of the church. Hence "The Book of Psalms, Englished in Prose and Metre, by H. A. Imprinted at Amsterdam, by Giles Thorp, 1612." This edition is very rare, and different in form from all subsequent editions. The alleged objection of the sect to singing is unintentionally disposed of in the preface, where the author ingeniously proves that the Psalms were intended to be perpetually sung in the church, from the two parallel facts—that the Scriptures are written, partly in prose, and partly in verse, and that God has furnished man with the

faculty of *speaking* and also of *singing.* With reference to the manner in which he executed his task, he professes to follow the structure of the Hebrew verse. "I have been mindful," he says, "of the grace of the Hebrew, and differ somewhat in phrase from the English Bible . . . . In pauses, I follow the Hebrew, and rather than I would stray from the text, I have strayed now and then from the rules of English poesy, in the just ending of both verses alike, and sometimes in the quantity of a syllable."

The pages are double-columned—the first column containing a prose version; the second, the metrical, headed with the music of the appropriate tune. Then follow the brief annotations to explain "the hard words and phrases" of the Psalms. We cannot give a better idea of the author's success in the art of poesy than by quoting two brief specimens of different measure, preserving the form and the punctuation of the original exactly. We select the 133d Psalm:—

"1. Behold how good it is and sweet:
for brethren ever to dwell at one!
"2. It's like the good oil on the head;
which did go down the beard upon;
the beard of A'ron: which down went
on collar of his vestiment.
"3. It's like the dew of *mount* Hermon:
even like the dew that doth descend,
upon the mountains of Sion:
because Jehovah doth command
that there the blessing *still shall be:*
even life, unto eternity."

As a sample of a different measure, we take a couple of verses of the second Psalm:—

"1. Why, do the heathen rage tumultuously:
and peoples, meditate on vanity?
"2. Kings of the earth, themselves presenting set:
and princes for to plot together get:
against Jehovah, gainst his Christ also.
"3. Break we, their cords: and their bands, from us throw."

A bare inspection of the volume will impress the reader with the enormous toil which its preparation must have cost the author. The music was all selected by himself. He comes before us here as translator, versifier, annotator and musician.

But notwithstanding its wretched versification, the use of this metrical version was not confined to the church in Amsterdam. The congregation at Leyden adopted it, and the Pilgrim Fathers brought it with them to New England, where it held its ground for nearly eighty years. The following extract from the records of the Church of New Plymouth, is not without interest:—"June 19th, 1692. The pastor propounded to the church, that seeing many of the Psalms of Mr. Ainsworth's translation, which had hitherto been sung in the congregation, had such difficult tunes, that none in the church could set, they would consider of some expedient that they might sing all the Psalms."

In about four years after, Ainsworth's translation was replaced by another version, probably the version of Sternhold and Hopkins, improved by the "Roxbury poets," and which Dunster, the President of Harvard, afterwards smoothed by "a little more art," to the sweetness of liquid verse. Prince tells us that this improved version of Dunster was extensively used in the old country, and that he himself saw the eighteenth edition of it, bound with the Bible, at Edinburgh, in 1741. Prince, however, did not think it beyond amendment, and accordingly tried his own hand on it to still further smooth the rugged rhyme.

The "Annotations" on the Pentateuch and Psalms are so well known as to make any lengthened remark on their character and special excellencies here unnecessary. Their peculiar merits have been universally acknowledged from the first, though they have always been more widely known and appreciated by continental scholars than by Englishmen. Objections were, however, vehemently urged against them from certain quarters in Ainsworth's own day. The learned John Cotton acknowledges their great value to the church, while regretting "some uncircumcised and unguarded rabbinical observations recited but not refuted." This remark points to the main objections to these "Annotations"—the frequent citation of old Jewish writers, and the almost total neglect of the Christian fathers. But this objection was founded on a misapprehension of the author's principal object in the work. The rabbinical writings are "cited to give light to the ordinances of Moses in

their external practice," a light which could not be borrowed from any other quarter: and also "to show how, in many words, phrases, and points of doctrine, the rabbins approve the New Testament, sometimes condemning themselves." As to the alleged neglect of the Christian fathers, the author enters the satisfactory plea, "that they are usually cited by other expositors abundantly, making it necessary for him to repeat, and the rather for brevity, which is requisite in annotations." A judicious brevity is indeed one of the most admirable characteristics of these "Annotations." While there is always a careful opening of the radical meaning of the words, there is an entire absence of windy disquisitions on grammatical or philological difficulties—no pompous discourse on archæological questions—no rambling paraphrases, which often obscure more than they illustrate the simple text. By a copious use of the Targums and Jewish commentaries, a diligent comparison of ancient versions, and, above all, by a most accurate and minute collation of the Scriptures themselves, Ainsworth has furnished one of the most admirable helps extant towards a thorough understanding of the Scriptures. His Translation is far too literal to be satisfactory. It is a rendering of the *words* rather than of the *sense*. Two or three verses may be quoted for illustration from Gen. 11, 1:—

"And all the earth was of one lip and of one speech. And it was, when they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they seated there. And they said *every* man to his neighbor, Go to, let us make bricks, and burn *them* with a burning: and they had brick for stone: and slime had they for mortar."

It is much to be regretted that the unfinished MSS. of Annotations on Hosea and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Ainsworth left behind him, have been lost apparently beyond recovery. Dr. Worthington, whose inquiries failed to discover in whose hands they were lodged, hints at other men "lighting their candles by his." Moreri mentions a current report that Dr. Lightfoot pillaged the best of his observations from Ainsworth, though he deems it unworthy of credit. Can the report

have had any connection with the unaccountable disappearance of those unpublished MSS.?

In a biographical notice of Ainsworth, it would scarcely be fair to pass over in silence the lamentable divisions that occurred in the congregation at Amsterdam. These almost unavoidable occurrences brought reproach on the church, and furnished an occasion of derisive jubilation to their adversaries. We shall notice only that in which Ainsworth was directly concerned. The question in dispute involved an important principle: it concerned the power of the elders in the government of the church. Neal and other historians have misrepresented the case. The Separatists adopted essentially the Presbyterian form of church government, so far as it could be developed in a single congregation, which, before the division, consisted of about three hundred members, a pastor and teacher, "four grave men for ruling elders, three able and godly men for deacons, and an ancient widow for deaconess." It was felt, however, that the elders were gradually assuming a degree of authority which, it was feared, might prove as dangerous to the freedom of the church as the prelacy from which they had already escaped. The peculiar circumstances of the church naturally made its members jealous of every move which threatened the freedom which they had conquered at a great sacrifice, and apt to take offence at the semblance of usurpation of authority. The question, which at length assumed a distinct form, was—Whether the elders (including the pastor) had sole authority in all matters of government and discipline, independently of the congregation, or jointly with, and subject to the approval of the congregation, in all cases of importance? Johnson and his party claimed for the elders the right of excommunication without, and even against the consent of the congregation. Ainsworth argued that the church consisted of members and officers jointly, and that therefore the actions of the church should, in reality, though not necessarily formally, be joint actions. The exclusive and absolute authority arrogated for the eldership was little short of the pretensions of the full-blown prelacy. "The underprops of this spiritual arrogance," says Ainsworth, "are a proportioning of the Christian church on the government of Israel, and a pretended privilege

from Peter's keys." The difference between the two parties widened with discussion. The counsels of Robinson and Elder Brewster of Leyden, both of whom supported Ainsworth's views, failed to produce a mutual understanding. Dean Hook repeats, in his Ecclesiastical Dictionary, the old exploded fallacy, that the Presbytery of Amsterdam exhausted all the resources of reason and persuasion in vain to mediate between the two parties. The truth is, the services of the Presbytery were neither sought nor proffered for the purpose. Equally unfounded is the oft-repeated allegation that Johnson and Ainsworth mutually excommunicated each other. The testimony of friends and foes who were acquainted with the case, is unanimous that Ainsworth behaved himself throughout the whole controversy with singular wisdom and moderation. And instead of mutual excommunications, Johnson proposed a peaceful separation, which was approved of generally by both parties, as the best solution of the difficulty. This separation, which occurred December 10th, 1610, dates the first distinct assertion of Congregationalism, though such was not contemplated, which, within a few years after, firmly rooted itself in England and in America. It was not the first time that a local dispute in an exiled English congregation led to great and unexpected consequences. That the abolition of the office of ruling elder was not contemplated by Ainsworth, is manifest from the fact that the eldership was continued in the Amsterdam congregation, till its final disappearance in 1701, when the remnant was absorbed into the Scotch Church there ; the office existed also in the Church of New Plymouth, the eldest daughter of the Separation, as late as the middle of the last century. There may, however, be some truth in the saying, that "the people held the bridle while they allowed the elders to sit on the saddle."

The split in the congregation at Amsterdam was made the subject of ample reproach to that church. Had it occurred in a large body, the like of which has frequently happened since, it would have probably attracted little notice beyond the boundary of the congregation itself—certainly grave divines would hardly have regarded it of sufficient importance to make it the theme of labored treatises, much less interpret the inci-

dent as an unquestionable manifestion of the divine judgment on the body. It would be absurd to deny that there were occasional explosions of extravagances among the Separatists—the inevitable results of the artificial restraints under which they had long chafed—but whatever objections their principles or practice may be open to, it cannot justly be denied that they aimed, honestly and manfully, at restoring the church, in its outward organization and internal life, to the simplicity of apostolic times.

We should not have alluded here to the tradition which ascribes the death of Ainsworth to premeditated violence, but for the lingering belief in the truth of it among recent writers. Stevens, the careful historian of the "Scotch Church at Rotterdam," accepts it as worthy of credit. The story, as told by Neal, is to the effect that, having found a diamond of great value one day in the street, he advertised it; and that the owner, a Jewish merchant, on claiming the property, offered a handsome reward. But Ainsworth would accept nothing but a conference with the rabbis, which the Jew promised to procure for him. But being unable or unwilling to fulfil his promise, he caused his disappointed victim to be poisoned. There is a variation of the story, which does not add to the probability of its truth, that the desired conference was granted, and that Ainsworth so confounded and confuted the rabbis, that out of malice and mortified pride, they compassed his death by poisoning. There is an air of extreme improbability about the story. First, rabbis were not so inaccessible to learned men as to require this species of negotiation to procure a conference with them. Second, it was contrary to the habit of Ainsworth's whole life to provoke a controversy with any man, unless driven to it by necessity. Third, the story was apparently unknown to his contemporaries in Holland. Fourth, none of the editors of his posthumous works allude to any occurrence which might lend it a color of truth, while one of them mentions his long-continued ailment, and the peaceful manner of his death. Still it might prove an interesting subject of inquiry how the story originated, and to account for the general belief in its credibility.

In concluding our remarks on the life of this eminent Christian worthy, we cannot forbear quoting the testimony of two men of opposite views on the propriety of Separation, as to what manner of man he was in life. His works sufficiently attest his extraordinary industry, his quick and penetrative understanding, the beautiful truthfulness and noble simplicity of his character. Most unjustly has he been accused of hastiness of temper and rashness of judgment. Baillie, while admitting his superior gift, is unwilling to believe that he was a man of a modest and humble spirit, because he continued "all his lifetime the head of the most rigid Separation." Far different was the opinion of one who had disliked his "Separation" as heartily as Baillie, but had the advantage of personal acquaintance with him. S. White, in a preface to the "Orthodox Foundation," says, "For the life of the man, myself being an eye-witness, of his humility, sobriety, and discretion, setting aside his preposterous zeal in the point of Separation, he lived and died unblameable to the world."

"A man very modest," says Bradford, "of an innocent and unblameable life and conversation, of a meek spirit and calm temper, constant in his judgment about church government to the end. He had a singular gift in teaching and opening the Scriptures, and had this excellency above many, that he was ready and pregnant in the Scriptures, as if the book of God had been written on his heart. In a word the time and place in which he lived were not worthy of such a man."

R. T.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

Definition of the Science.

The Biblical Theology of the New Testament is that part of theological science, in which the teachings of the New Testament concerning God and divine things are comprehensively and systematically exhibited. It is distinguished from Doctrinal Theology by its character, scope and aim, and naturally falls, in Theological Encyclopedia, into the department of Historical Theology.

1. Theology is, in general, the science of God and divine things; or according to a later, though not therefore a better definition, the science of religion. In its more restricted sense the word signifies the science concerning God, in distinction from that concerning man, sin, Christ, etc. (Theology, the name of the *locus de Deo*, as distinguished from Anthropology, Hamartology, Christology, etc.). There is no religion of any importance, which has not a more or less developed theology (e. g. the theology of Mosaism, Islamism, Buddhism, etc.). Philosophy, even, has its theology, as it has its anthropology and cosmology. From this purely philosophic theology, however, Christian theology is entirely distinct; since the former is a product of individual thought, in the light of speculation or experience, while the latter, on the contrary, is derived from a special divine revelation, the sacred record of which is the Holy Scripture. To

this last, the saying of THOMAS AQUINAS is entirely applicable: *A Deo docetur, Deum docet, et ad Deum ducit.* Comp. the article *Theologie* by L. PELT, in HERZOG'S *Real-Encycl.* XV. S. 748.

2. The Biblical Theology of the New Testament treats of the ideas respecting God and divine things recorded in the New Testament. It investigates, in other words, the doctrines of the New Testament, without intending thereby to maintain, that the New Testament teaches a strictly completed doctrinal system; much less, that the characteristic feature of the Christian revelation consists exclusively or predominantly in its doctrine. But though this latter statement must be rejected, in cannot be denied that the New Testament does contain an actual doctrine respecting God and divine things. This doctrine the Biblical Theology of the New Testament comprehensively surveys, examines its several parts in themselves and in their mutual relations, and presents it, so far as possible, as a composite whole in the light of history.

In the broadest sense of the term, Biblical Theology embraces the doctrine concerning God and divine things as found in both the Old and the New Testaments. That both are intimately connected is generally recognized: *Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet, Vetus in Novo patet* (AUGUSTINE). But although an entire separation is scarcely conceivable, a real distinction is possible, desirable, and in a certain sense necessary, and of late years, especially, has been successfully made.

3. The distinction between the Biblical Theology of the New Testament, and Christian Dogmatics, which have not unfrequently been confounded, to the injury of both, is already beginning to be clear. Both of these departments of theological science possess a specific *character.* That of Christian Dogmatics is historico-*philosophical;* that of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament, on the other hand, is purely *historical.* The former inquires, not only what the Christian Church in general or one of its branches in particular regards as truth, but predominantly what man is or is not to believe in the sphere of the Christian faith. The latter, on the contrary, asks simply what is presented as truth by the writers of the New Testament. It has to do, from its own point of view, not with the correctness but only with the contents of the ideas which it finds in the

teachings of Jesus and the Apostles. "It does not demonstrate; it states. (REUSS)."*—It has, consequently, an entirely different *aim* from that which the student of Systematic Theology proposes to himself. While Doctrinal Theology seeks to develop the contents of the Christian faith and to exhibit, in the evidences of revelation, its firm foundation, Biblical Theology has finished its task, when it has clearly shown what the New Testament, in distinction from other religious books, announces as truth, leaving its defence and vindication to the kindred science. If, so far, its *aim* is humbler, its *compass*, on the other hand, is so much the greater. If since the time of Calixtus (1634), Doctrinal Theology and Ethics—whether justly or not need not here be decided—have been separated, this separation in the department of Biblical Theology is neither legitimate nor desirable. A sharp line of distinction between doctrine as related to salvation and doctrine as related to life is entirely foreign to the spirit of Jesus and the Apostles. As viewed by the New Testament writers, faith and life are not merely allied, but identical. Biblical Theology has, therefore, to embrace in its investigation, the practical no less than the theoretical side of the doctrines of the New Testament. On the other hand, it cannot be required to treat expressly of the life of our Lord and his Apostles along with their doctrinal teaching, as has been done among others by C. F. SCHMID, (in a work shortly to be mentioned).

Since the Biblical Theology of the New Testament exhibits, therefore, a much more objective character than Doctrinal Theology, it is able to dispense with the help of the latter, although the latter cannot do without the former. It demands from those who cultivate it, not so much that they should be Christian philosophers, as that they be good exegetes and thorough historians. For the Biblical theologian, as truly as for the interpreter, the main question is: how read ye?† It is better, therefore, to style our science Biblical *Theology*, than Biblical *Dogmatics*. By the Biblical Dogmatics of the New

* The distinction of SCHENKEL, *Christl. Dogm.* I. S. 380, is hazy and erroneous: "Its aim is, not to exhibit the truth of redemption, but only (!) the reality of the Biblical history of redemption (!!).

† Comp. J. I. DOEDES, *Hermeneutiek voor de Schriften des N. V.* Utrecht, 1866 bl. 8.

Testament is generally understood a finished system of doctrine, so far as this has been drawn from the New Testament regarded as a whole. Biblical Theology, on the other hand, aims principally to institute a purely historical investigation concerning the doctrine of each of the individual writers. Then, too, the word "dogma" almost necessarily suggests something sanctioned by the Church. The utterances of Jesus and the Apostles, with which the Biblical Theology of the New Testament is concerned, are the materials from which the doctrines of the Church were subsequently derived and by which they are supported.

4. The character of our science, as thus described, decides at once its place in the organic structure of Theological Encyclopedia. If we distinguish between exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical theology, it is evident that the Biblical Theology of the New Testament stands at the head of the second, where it shines "as one of the foci of theological study." (HAGENBACH). It thankfully accepts the absolutely indispensable aid which exegesis affords, and lends this, in turn, to the other parts of historical theology, as presently also to systematic and practical theology, but especially to the history of Christian doctrine, of which it is at once the foundation and the starting point. On the other hand it may leave the critical investigation of the history of the sources from which it draws, entirely to the so-called science of Introduction (Isagogics of the New Testament). Undoubtedly it must use the light which the latter sheds, so far as is necessary and possible, as a help in its investigation. In respect to disputed and important questions in Introduction, the student in this department may be required to settle his views, and to pronounce and defend his opinion. But a formal and exhaustive treatment of these questions cannot be demanded of him. The ever growing extent of the subject renders, in our day especially, a division of labor indispensable. The ideal of this department is reached, whenever it gives a clear, systematic and complete survey of the doctrines taught in the New Testament, without concerning itself about whatever else is maintained by critics, whether justly or quite erroneously, concerning the origin, composition and value of these books.

5. After what has been said, the importance of the investigation in which the Biblical Theology of the New Testament employs itself scarcely needs to be shown. Regarded only from a purely historical point of view, it deserves the attention of *every* student of the history of mankind and of the kingdom of God on earth.—The intelligent *Christian* justly prizes an accurate knowledge of the answer regarding the highest questions of life, given by our Lord and his Apostles.—To the Christian *theologian*, especially, is the knowledge of the doctrine of Jesus and the Apostles necessary, more than to many others. —As a *Protestant*, besides, he has an incitement to this investigation, which the Roman Catholic has either not at all or not in the same degree. And so far is the considerably modified view of the Holy Scriptures, *in our day*, from making this study less important, that, wholly aside from the correctness of such modification, the signs of the times all the more urge its unwearied prosecution.—It is with reason also required of candidates for the ministry in the Church [of Holland] that for two years they pursue in the University the study of Biblical (in distinction from Systematic) Theology. Its special treatment as a distinct science, although of comparatively recent origin, is not only justifiable, but must be regarded as indicating real progress.

Literature.—On the definition and character of this science compare F. F. Fleck, "*on Biblical Theology as a Science of our Time*," in Rohr's *Prediger-Bibliothek*, 1834; Schmid, "*on the Influence and the Position of the Biblical Theology of the N. T. in our Time*," in the *Tüb. Zeitschrift für Theol.*, 1838; Schenkel, "*The Task of Biblical Theology*," *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1852; B. Weiss, "*The Relation of Exegesis to Biblical Theology*," in the *Deutsche Zeitschr.*, 1852; J. Köstlin, "*On the Unity and Manifoldness of the doctrinal teachings of the Apostles*," in the *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Theol.*, 1857: the introduction to Lange's *Commentary:* and, best of all, the article by C. J. Nitzsch, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, II. S. 219 ff.

Questions for Consideration.—The character and psychological basis of theological science in general.—Why was the investigation of the theology of the Old and New Testament,

formerly united, and afterward separated?—Criticism of some other definitions of this science, more or less differing from that here given.—Difference of opinion concerning its place in Theological Encyclopedia.—Why does not the life of Jesus and the Apostles belong to its province?—A more particular exhibition and vindication of its importance, in itself and in comparison with other branches.—How is the undervaluing of it from several sides to be explained, and how to be met?

§ 2.

Its History.

As a distinct department of theological science, the Biblical Theology of the New Testament is but little older than the present century. It has had a long period of preparation, but has been developed within a comparatively short period to a high degree, and is now in a condition of prosperity and life which presents strong encouragement for its further prosecution.

1. It is not without reason that in the introduction to any branch of scientific inquiry, some account of its history is usually given. In this process, too, history maintains its honorable position as "the light of truth, the witness of ages, the mistress of life." It makes us acquainted with what, in any given department, has been already accomplished, and thereby, with what still remains to be done. It shows how the science by degrees came to occupy an independent position, furnishes the key to the explanation of its present condition, and enables us consequently to go on to build upon a well-laid foundation.

2. The Biblical Theology of the New Testament has sometimes been justly called a "distinctively Protestant" science. It is at least such in this sense, that although its germs had an earlier existence, this science can be developed without hindrance only on the soil of Protestantism. The period which preceded the Reformation can properly receive no higher name than that of preparation. In this sense it may be said un-

doubtedly that the most distinguished of the early Church fathers were to a greater or less degree Biblical theologians. This honorable title belongs especially to the Coryphaei of the Alexandrian School. To a certain degree may be regarded as evidence of independent investigation in this department, the work *de testimoniis*, usually ascribed to CYPRIAN (d. 258), as also that of JUNILIUS, Bishop in Africa in the sixth century, *de partibus legis*. That the Middle Ages were not favorable to the cultivation of Biblical Theology, lay in the nature of the case. The question during that period was not as a rule, "what do the Scripures teach," but, "what does the Church teach." Still, the appealing to the Scriptures against opposers was not entirely neglected, and the preparation for the Reformation paved the way also for a more distinct and successful prosecution of Biblical Theology, especially of the New Testament. The *Doctores ad Biblia* were expressly entrusted with its exposition, and the example of LUTHER shows with what zeal individuals, at least, discharged this duty. The leading doctrinal works of the Reformers also, may be regarded as the fruit of the earnest study of the Bible, although it was pursued in no degree from a historical point of view or with a purely scientific aim. It was unfortunate that in the 17th century a new scholasticism took the place of the old, and the line of distinction between Biblical Theology and the Doctrinal Theology of the Church became more and more faint. Exegesis was thrown into the shade and Polemics brought into the foreground. Yet the views maintained in these controversies were defended by appealing to the so-called *dicta probantia* (proof texts) which were more or less fully explained. Even the endeavor to find the truths of the gospel taught as clearly and distinctly as possible in connection with the historical persons in the Old Testament led to a species of investigation, although one quite peculiar. For instance the theology of Job (1687), Jeremiah (1696), and even Elizabeth (1706) was exhibited with microscopic minuteness. To an increasing degree the need was felt, along with the scholastico-dogmatic method of investigation, of one which should be exegetical and Biblical (though not simply historical), and the helps for this were furnished from different quarters. In Strasburg, SEBASTIAN SCHMIDT published his *Collegium*

Biblicum (3d ed., 1689); in Holland, WITSIUS and VITRINGA adopted a purely Biblical method. The reaction, also, of Pietism against Orthodoxism had a favorable preparatory influence upon this science, and during the whole of the 18th century an increasing effort was manifest to break away from the scholastic yoke, and to return to the simplicity of the Bible in the exhibition of Christian life and doctrine. As examples of this tendency may be mentioned, HEYMANN, "*Essay towards a Biblical Theology, in Tables*"(4th ed., 1758); BUSCHING, *Epitome Theologiæ, e solis litteris sacris concinnatae*" (1757); and from the same hand: "*Thoughts upon the nature and value of Biblico-dogmatic Theology as compared with Scholastic*" (1758); above all, ZACHARIÆ, "*Biblical Theology, or Inquiry into the Biblical ground of the principal theological doctrines*" (3e Aufl. 5 Theile, 1786), and STORR, *Doctrinæ Christianæ e solis litt. SS. repetitæ Pars Theor.* (Stuttg. 1793 and 1807). [Translated with additions by Rev. S. S. SCHMUCKER, D.D., under the title, *An Elementary Course of Biblical Theology, from the work of Professors* STORR *and* FLATT. 2d ed. Andover, 1838. 8vo]. Their footsteps were followed, both abroad and in our own country, by respectable Biblical theologians of the Supranaturalistic direction, at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century.

3. With all the value to be attached to these attempts, the purely historical treatment of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament is entirely a product of the more recent period, in which the distinction between it and Doctrinal Theology, whether ecclesiastical or philosophical, is more and more brought into the foreground. The idea, that the Biblical Theology of the New Testament should be treated as an independent part of historical science, was first distinctly expressed on the rationalistic side. This was done by GABLER, Prof. in Altorf, in the year 1787, in an academic discourse: *de justo discrimine Theol. Bibl. et Dogm.* (afterwards incorporated into his "*Lesser Theological Writings*" (1831), in which he strongly insists that in the former of these departments the doctrinal teachings of the different writers should be objectively investigated, distinguished from each other, and systematically arranged. His leading thought was carried out by his colleague, G. L. BAUER, who published a "*Biblical Theology of the N. T.*" in four volumes

(1800–1802), which was to have been followed by a fifth. The latter gave to his historical inquiry an apologetic and practical character, but a more independent position was taken by AMMON in his "*Sketch of a pure Biblical Theology*" (Erlang. 1792), and his "*Biblical Theology*" (3e Th. 2e Aufl. 1801 u. 1802). In his view Biblical Theology is obliged merely to furnish "the materials, fundamental ideas and results of the Bible, without troubling itself about their connection, or combining them into an artificial system." "That work," he says, "belongs exclusively to the Systematic theologian, who links these results together." Whether the business of the "Systematic theologian" is so simple as these words would indicate, it is not necessary for us here to inquire; it is enough that AMMON has expressed the conception of the historical character of our science. This was done still more distinctly by KAYSER in his "*Biblical Theology, or Judaism and Christianity*" (Erlang. 1813–14), but especially by DEWETTE, Professor at Basle (d. 1850), who, though not so much in respect to results as to method, has rendered to it the most important service. He placed Biblical Dogmatics beside, and in certain respects in opposition to, the doctrinal system of the Lutheran Church, and distinguished in the former, better than had been done before, between the ideas of Hebraism and those of Judaism, and between the doctrinal teachings of Jesus and those of the Apostles. He inquired first of all, not whether his own views agreed with the statements of the Scriptures, but what these statements are: how they had been developed out of and beside each other, and in what connection they stood with the particular ideas of the age in which they were first expressed. Undoubtedly this work has its weaker sides also: Biblical Theology is still too much Biblical Dogmatics in the strictest sense of the word, and the peculiar philosophical views of the author (he belonged to the school of FRIES) had altogether too much influence upon the historical presentation. Notwithstanding this, however, he took gigantic steps in the right direction and laid a foundation on which others could successfully build. This was done to a certain degree, though in a less happy form, by BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS, Professor at Jena, in his "*Fundamental Outlines of Biblical Theology*" (1828), by CRAMER, "*Lectures on the Biblical Theology of the*

New Testament," (edited by NAEBE, Leipzig, 1830,) and on a much broader scale, by VAN COELLN, Professor at Breslau, whose "*Biblical Theology*" was issued after his death in the year 1836, in two volumes, by Dr. D. SCHULZ.

Meanwhile, the rationalistic or semi-rationalistic direction in theology was not the only one which devoted itself with manifest earnestness to the study of this branch of science. On the supranaturalistic side also, it was cultivated by men of ability. Within the second quarter of the present century, attention began to be more particularly directed to the theology of the *Old Testament.* The works on this subject by STEUDEL (1840), OEHLER (1840), and especially HÄVERNICK (1848), deserve to be honorably mentioned. In respect to the *New Testament* our science owes an undeniable debt to the never to be forgotten NEANDER (d. 1850). In the first part of his "*Life of Jesus*" (1st ed. 1837) he gave a masterly historical sketch of the doctrinal teachings of the Saviour, as exhibited in his parables, as previously, with rare skill, in his "*Planting and Training of the Apostolic Church*" (1st ed., 1832) he had clearly set forth the doctrinal teachings of the different apostolic writers. He brought out the nice shades in the peculiarity of each, but exhibited also their higher unity, and endeavored especially to show "how, notwithstanding all the differences between them, a profound unity in essentials remains, if we do not allow ourselves to be deceived by the form, and how even the form explains itself in its diversity." The weaker sides of Neander's presentation are avoided in one of the best works which we have to name, SCHMID, "*Biblical Theology of the New Testament*," edited after his death by Dr. C. WEIZACKER (1853), of which a new edition appeared in 1864. He clearly presents in an objective form the theology of the New Testament, and penetrates with unconcealed sympathy into the depths of the organism of the different doctrines, prefixing to the whole at some length an account of the life of our Lord and his Apostles. If the latter feature is not to be commended (comp. § 1. 3), still his work is much superior to the uncompleted "*Theology of the New Testament*," (Leipz. 1854, Bd. I,) by Dr. G. L. HAHN. The latter treats only of the fundamental ideas concerning God and the world which form the common basis of the doctrinal teaching of our Lord

and his Apostles, without making a proper distinction between the different types of doctrine and even tropes; it clearly exhibits, indeed, the unity of the above named doctrines, but without paying proper attention to the difference, in the development of doctrines, among the writers of the New Testament. In respect more particularly to the *theology of the Apostles* we mention with commendation, MESSNER, "*The Doctrine of the Apostles*" (Berl. 1850),* a book occasionally somewhat heavy, but rich in contents and composed on a good plan, and especially LECHLER, "*The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Age with reference to Diversity and Unity in doctrine and life,*" which was crowned by the directors of the Teyler Foundation in 1848. In 1857 it was issued a second time, so much enlarged and improved† that it may be called almost a new work. The special literature of the Petrine, Pauline and Johannean theology will be mentioned in its proper place. The necessity of some considerable modifications in the treatment of the theological teachings of Jesus in consequence of the criticism of STRAUSS and the Tübingen School was a natural result of the spirit of the age and is evident, also, from numerous examples.

Upon the whole it must not be assumed that, even where the purely historical character of our science has been known and maintained, the theological and philosophical views of those who cultivated it, have not exercised a great influence upon the mode of its treatment. How injurious has been the influence of the Hegelian philosophy upon the Biblical Theology of the Old Testament may be seen in the work of VATKE (1835), whose *a priori* construction of doctrine and history was opposed but not improved by BRUNO BAUER in his "*Religion of the Old Testament*" (Berlin, 1838, 1839).

In regard to the New Testament, we should be able to commend more highly REUSS'S in many respects excellent *Histoire de la Theol. Chrét. du Siècle Apostol.* (Strasb. 1852, last ed., 1864), if its clearness and fulness were equalled by strict objectivity of statement. But in the grouping, and here and

* A Dutch translation of this work has been published, with an introduction by Prof. HOEKSTRA. [An abstract of it will also be found in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct., 1869 and Jan., 1870.—*Tr.*]

† Comp. a review by the author of this work in the *Jaarbb. voor Wet. Theol.* (1852, Deel x. bl. 561–582).

there in the treatment of his material and his final judgment upon it, a certain degree of sympathy with the Tübingen construction of the early Church History cannot escape notice, and still further his inquiry extends beyond the limit of the New Testament,—a fact not favorable to a recognition of the special value of its contents. To a far greater degree does this remark hold true of the work of the head of the Tübingen School, Dr. F. C. BAUR, "*Lectures on New Testament Theology*," published after his death by his son (1864), in which the light and dark sides of this direction appear, so to speak, in a concentrated form. The whole of the rich material of the theology of the New Testament is divided by BAUR, after having separately considered the doctrinal teachings of Jesus, into three distinct periods. In the first he places the four epistles of Paul [Romans, Galatians, I and II Corinthians], regarded by him as genuine, together with the Apocalypse, and discusses their importance. In the second follow: the Epistle to the Hebrews, the smaller Pauline Epistles (with the exception of those to Timothy and Titus), with the addition of those of Peter and James, the Synoptical Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. In the third, finally, the doctrinal teachings of the Pastoral Epistles and the writings of John, which, according to BAUR, are by far the latest of the Sacred Canon. Thus the whole conception and method rest upon a kind of Introduction and Criticism, which no one, perhaps, would style impartial. Still more arbitrarily and with much less ability has NOACK in his "*Biblical and Theological Introduction to the Old and New Testaments*" (Halle, 1853), attempted the reconstruction of the history from the same position. — From the Roman Catholic side an important contribution to our science was made in Germany by LUTTERBECK, in his "*Doctrinal Teachings of the New Testament, or Investigations into the age of religious transition, the steps preparatory to Christianity and its earliest form* (2 Thle. Mainz, 1852). It is a thesaurus of materials, but the writer himself has entitled it a "*Handbook of the most Ancient Doctrinal and Systematic Exegesis of the New Testament*," while leaving wholly untouched the doctrinal teachings of our Lord and, on the other hand, incorporating much which does not directly pertain to the subject.

In the Netherlands, while much comparatively has been contributed toward biblical and evangelical doctrinal theology (MUNTINGHE, EGELING, HERINGA, VINKE), little has been done for the scientific, and purely historical treatment of the Theology of the New Testament. From the stand-point of the Groningen School a number of important contributions to the knowledge of the doctrinal teachings of Paul and the other Apostles were published in the earlier volumes of *Waarheid en Liefde.* J. H. SCHOLTEN, Professor in Leyden, has placed in the hands of his pupils a valuable compend in his "*History of Christian Theology during the Period of the New Testament*" (2e uitg., Leyden, 1858), in which the well known clearness and acuteness of the author are as manifest as is the influence of his peculiar doctrinal views. An important contribution was made to Biblical Theology by Dr. A. H. BLOM, in his work entitled "*The Doctrine of the Messiah's Kingdom among the first Christians, according to the Acts of the Apostles*" (Dortr., 1863), a treatise in which the claim of rigid objectivity is not made without reason. In a popular and at the same time scientific way, the writer of the present work has endeavored to exhibit distinctly the "*Christology of the New Testament*" (Rotterdam, 1857). A careful and thorough "*Historical and Expository Inquiry concerning Eschatology, or the doctrine of Future Things according to the writings of the New Testament,*" was published by J. P. BRIËT (2 Deel., Thiel, 1857, 58).

4. At the close of our historical survey we see that it is in no wise impossible to treat the Biblical Theology of the New Testament as a distinct science, and that a new attempt to develop and complete this science is not superfluous. It is fully evident that its claims are better met the more clearly its objective and historical character is recognized, while on the other hand a premature mingling of individual dogmatic and philosophical opinions can only result in essential injury to it. In the history of the past, men have struck by turns upon one or the other of these two rocks: they have either sacrificed on the one hand the undeniable diversity of the doctrinal teachings to the maintenance of a conceptional unity, or, on the other, the higher unity to the maintenance of a quite too strongly marked diversity. The first took place, especially at an earlier period, under the influence of the current dogmatism: the latter is more

frequently found in our time under the influence of the criticism at present in vogue. True wisdom demands that in avoiding Scylla we keep clear of Charybdis. But this leads to the following Section.

Comp. on the subject of this, REUSS, *Histoire de la Theol. Chrét.*, I, pp. 13–28, and BAUR, *Vorlesungen über N. T. Theologie* S. 1–44.

Questions for consideration.—To what is it to be ascribed that the Biblical Theology of the New Testament is such a comparatively recent science?—What beneficial and what injurious influence has the Tübingen School had upon its development?—Is it possible and necessary to keep its cultivation free from the influence of a definite system of Christian philosophy?

§ 3.

Its Method, Main Divisions and Demands.

The method of our investigation can be no other, from the nature of the case, than the genetic, chronological, and analytical. The main divisions of the subject are determined by the peculiarity and the mutual connection of the different doctrines taught in the New Testament. In order that the treatment of them may correspond with their design, it must be conducted in a really scientific manner and also in a genuine Christian spirit.

1. In every science, the question in respect to the method of its treatment is of very great importance. The entire value of a result depends upon the legitimacy of the process by which it was reached. It is equally clear that the method of every science is determined by its special character. As a part of historical theology, our science can be subject to no other laws than those which govern every historical inquiry. The method must consequently be *genetic*, i. e., it must take into view, not only the contents, but also the process of production (genesis) of the different ideas. In this process historico-psychological exegesis, especially, will render good service. Next, *chronological;* for

we find in the New Testament, a collection of writings and ideas, which gradually arose, and were developed in many cases under the mutual influence of one writer upon another, while even the interior process of development in one and the same author (Paul, for instance) was in no wise at a stand for an entire series of years. "History is a development of life" (SCHMID). Here the well known direction "*distingue tempora*" is to be carefully borne in mind. Finally, *analytic* or disjunctive. Our inquiry is not at the outset concerning the doctrinal teaching of the Apostolic age *as a whole*, but concerning that of the individual New Testament writings. It is true, we must strive to grasp the higher unity, but this stands forth clearly only when unmistakable diversity has been previously exhibited. The synthesis has no value, if the analysis was not pure. "It is from analysis that we seek for the light, which shall illumine our path: from analysis, which teaches the historian to forget himself in order not to be untrue to his subject, which knows how to respect the particular character of each fact, each idea which it meets, which recognizes in every epoch, every group, every individual even, however small, its right to a place in the mirror of history, as it once had in actual life." (REUSS.)

2. The main divisions of the department on which we enter, are substantially indicated by what has been already said. First of all, we must distinguish between the *doctrinal teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ and those of the Apostolic writers*, and speak of the former before we take up the latter. In the first named, the difference between the sayings of our Lord in the three first Gospels and in the Gospel of John comes before us. The present state of science demands that we study both separately, and listen first to the Christ of the *Synoptical* gospels, and then of *John*, in order finally to inquire how the words of both stand mutually related to each other.—The study of the doctrines of the Apostles demands a similiar separation, which is in this case threefold. *Peter*, *Paul*, *John*,—these three and in this succession,—give, one after the other, their testimony. Around these figures others group themselves, who exhibit a more or less noticeable affinity of thought with them and their ideas. Thus to the Petrine theology belong the doctrinal teach-

ings of the epistles of James and Jude, to which also must be reckoned those of the gospels according to Matthew and Mark. Around Paul gather successively Stehpen, his forerunner; Luke, his fellow-laborer; and the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, of a spirit akin to his. John stands alone; but the John of the fourth gospel and the epistles on the one hand, and the John of the Apocalypse on the other, are sufficiently different to justify us in attending to them separately.

Within these two main divisions the materials for our investigation are included, but not to the exclusion of certain preliminary considerations. We cannot understand the instructions of our Lord and his Apostles, unless we are familiar, at least in general, with the soil from which the plant sprung. An introductory chapter, therefore, must precede both of these, which shall treat, not indeed of the entire theology of the Old Testament, but of the religion from the bosom of which Christianity came; of the expectations of which it is the realization; and finally of the condition, the ideas and the wants of the age in which our Lord and his disciples appeared; in other words, of Mosaism, Prophetism, and Judaism (as distinguished from the earlier Hebraism). The contents of this first part, merely preparatory, but yet indispensable, we may best comprise under the name of *Old Testament foundation.* Next follow, *secondly*, the theology of Jesus Christ, and then, *thirdly*, that of the Apostles, according to the plan indicated above. But is our investigation with this completed? Not more than is a building, the foundations of which are laid, and the walls carried up to the required height, but which still lacks roof and gable. In a *fourth* or last chapter, the synthesis of the now completed analysis must be sought, or, in other words, the *higher unity* of the doctrines of the Apostles with each other, and of all of them with those of our Lord, must be brought out. It is thus only that the Theology of the New Testament rises before us like a well constructed edifice. "Thus will the New Testament theology have the task of developing the organic connection of the New Testament doctrine" (SCHMID). It is only here that we can permanently stand. And now if it is manifest, that none of the leading divisions which have been indicated can be either omitted, or differently placed and arranged, without the de-

struction of harmony, the propriety and correctness of our main division will be justified.

3. The demand, that the inquiry to be instituted shall be at once scientific and Christian, no one, in this general form, will deny. Nevertheless a single word of explanation will not be superfluous.

An investigation is *scientific*, when it corresponds to the demands of science in general and is in harmony with the particular science which it seeks to advance. "Science is well grounded knowledge, the fruit of correct observation and philosophical investigation" (MULDER). Theological Science, consequently, is well grounded and well arranged knowledge of God and divine things, drawn from those sources from which they can manifestly be known. In its investigation, it obtains light by means of faith in God and his revelation, but this faith, so far from extinguishing or fettering the spirit of investigation, stimulates it and give to it the most legitimate direction. It is a proper condition of this investigation also, that it be fundamental, accurate, complete, impartial and truth-loving. This impartiality, however, must not be conceived of as a deliberate denying and forgetting of all the principles from which men start on other subjects (expressed by the German word *Voraussetzungslosigkeit*), for this is neither necessary nor possible. It demands rather that with a candid mind and spirit, we hold ourselves open to every impression, and desire nothing except the truth, whether it accords with our private and cherished opinions or not. Such a love of the truth, which becomes no one more than the student of theological science, naturally allies itself with the moral earnestness which should least of all be wanting in an investigation like ours. So far it can be said that the true scientific spirit is not merely a direction of the intellect, but of the whole mental and moral life, so that, like eloquence, it may be called not simply a gift, but also a virtue.

This scientific investigation will at the same time be *Christian*, when it is commenced and prosecuted, *first*, from a Christian point of view. It is impossible in studying the doctrinal teachings of Jesus and the Apostles not to remember the great significance of the New Testament in respect to the religious and

Christian life. The theologian who is truly Christian cannot forsake his faith on entering the field of science. Neither is this demanded: believing leads here, too, to better knowing, as the latter in turn places us in a better condition to believe (1 John 5, 13). Still, we must not allow the Christian and ecclesiastical points of view to become confounded. The Scriptures of the New Testament are now to be exclusively regarded and consulted as historical documents; the question whether they are more than this, and in what relation they stand and must stand to the faith and life of the Christian, belongs exclusively to the department of Christian Dogmatics, and consequently remains *here* untouched. In the *second* place, our inquiry must be conducted in a Christian *spirit*, that is, in the spirit of genuine humility, which is conscious of the limitation of our powers: of a living faith, which seeks with growing earnestness, to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God: and most of all, of warm love to the Gospel, which easily and willingly comes into sympathy with the spirit of the sacred writers,—a condition indispensable to profounder knowledge. *Finally*, our inquiry must have a Christian aim — personal sanctification through the knowledge of the truth, the upbuilding of the kingdom of God around us, and thereby, above all, the glory of Him to whom are all things, the sphere of science not excepted. Comp. Schenkel, *Christl. Dogm.*, S. 61. ff., Nitzsch, in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* II. S. 225.

Questions for Consideration: The importance of method in the department of theology.—Criticism of some other divisions and subdivisions.—How far is complete impartiality in our investigation indispensable, possible, desirable?—Is a purely historical inquiry, such as is here proposed, entirely compatible with the reverence which we owe to the Holy Scriptures?

PART I.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FOUNDATION.

§ 4.

Mosaism.

Mosaism is the religious and political constitution given through Moses to the people of Israel, and in consequence of which it has occupied an entirely peculiar position in the history of the development of the religious life of mankind. The chief source of knowledge respecting it is the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament; its foundation, a special divine revelation; its character, monotheistic; its form, theocratic; its worship, symbolico-typical; its tendency purely moral; its stand-point, that of external authority, but at the same time of conscious preparation for higher development.

1. The theology of the New Testament rests entirely upon the foundation of the Old Testament. The gospel is unintelligible in respect to its contents and form, without a knowledge of the prophetical Scriptures. These in turn point back to Moses and the religion founded by him (Comp. John 4, 22; 2 Tim. 3, 15).

2. That the Israelitish people occupied an entirely peculiar position in the history of religion no one will deny. In commerce and luxury it was inferior to the Phenicians, in art and science to the Greeks, in valor to the Romans and others. In the sphere of religion, on the other hand, we meet in Israel ideas, institutions, expectations, which in this form we nowhere else find; historical figures, the counterpart of which we elsewhere seek in vain; and most of all, a consciousness of itself, which must have been simply the fruit of unbounded arrogance

or else a priceless prerogative (Deut. 4, 7; 33, 29. Ps. 89, 16; 147, 19. 20.) The objective and subjective eminence, on which Israel stood, can be explained only from Mosaism.

3. In order to a right knowledge and judgment of Mosaism, a knowledge of Moses himself is necessary. This is derived partly from profane sources (Egyptian, Greek, Roman,) and partly from sacred, especially the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and most of all the Pentateuch. Not all, however, is purely Mosaic which has named itself after Moses, just as all is not Christian which is connected with the name of Christ. It is the important and indispensable work entrusted to thorough criticism to distinguish the original Mosaic elements from what was afterwards added, either in the way of development or of deterioration.

4. With all which Moses has in common with the founders of other ancient religions, his personal character and work remain perfectly inexplicable, if he was not the interpreter and agent of a special divine revelation. The definition, possibility, reality and criteria of this special revelation are presented in Doctrinal Theology. Biblical Theology affirms simply the fact, that Moses appeared as an extraordinary ambassador from God (Num. 12, 6–8), was recognized as such by contemporaries and posterity, (Deut. 34, 10–12), and also by Jesus and the Apostles (Matt. 15, 3–6; Rom. 3, 2), and that he demonstrated the divinity of his mission, not merely by miracles and prophecies, but especially by the internal excellence of his religious teachings, which it has never been possible to explain on merely natural grounds. The divine revelation, however, made to Moses, had its root, in turn, in an earlier revelation, the origin of which goes back into remote antiquity (Ex. 2, 24. 25). It is only from the stand-point of Supranaturalistic Theism that Mosaism can be comprehended.

5. Mosaism bears from the beginning a strictly monotheistic character. It exhibits Jehovah, not merely as the supreme, but as the only God (Deut. 6, 4) beside whom, to no other creature in heaven or on earth can religious worship justly be paid. Although Israel became guilty of idolatry in the wilderness and afterwards (Amos 5, 25–27), this crime was committed in direct conflict with the the Mosaic law, which threatened it with death. There is no better ground for assuming that this

monotheism gradually sprang from an earlier polytheism, than for explaining it from the peculiarity of the Semitic race. "That which is controlling in the history of the Jews, is not race, but religion; two distinct things, which do not mutually explain each other" (La Boulaye). Everything obliges us, rather, in some form or other, to think of a personal divine revelation, made to the ancestors of the nation, forgotten by their posterity in Egypt, revived through Moses, and enlarged in Mosaism by the addition of new elements. In consequence of this revelation, Israel knows the Lord of heaven and earth, the Almighty Creator of the universe, in his unity, majesty, spiritual nature and spotless holiness, united with mercy and faithfulness. This truth is the centre around which all revolves: "the doctrine of doctrines." The knowledge of it raises Israel above all the nations of the earth, and is the unchangeable pledge of national and personal prosperity. The expectation of the latter, however, as a general rule, extends no further than this side the grave (Ex. 20, 12). Finally, however much the hope of individuals even in death may have clung to Him who lives eternally, life and immortality have been brought to light only by the gospel (2 Tim. 1, 10).

6. The covenant which God, in accordance with his promises, made to Israel through Moses as a mediator was the foundation of the *Theocracy.* This word has come down to us from Josephus (*Contra Apion.* II, 16); this institution itself can neither be regarded as an imitation of other forms of religion, *e. g.* Egyptian; nor as a natural product sprung from a narrow particularism; nor as an involuntary reaction against heathenism. It was the free and gracious choice of Him, who, although he is Lord of the whole creation, made Israel the people of his own possession. The covenant act of the theocracy, thus founded, was the giving of the law on Sinai; its seat the sanctuary: its limit, not the rise of the kingly power, by which it was merely modified, but the destruction of the Jewish commonwealth: its culminating blessing, the appearance of Him who cast down the separating wall between Israel and the nations. It is only as we recognize this theocratic character, that the history of Israel and the steadily progressive development of the supreme majesty of God becomes credible or to a certain degree comprehensible.

7. God will not only be known by Israel as the God of the covenant, but also be solemnly worshiped in a way acceptable to Him. This worship, prescribed through Moses, exhibits a symbolico-typical character (Col. 2, 16. Ep. to the Heb.). Its external forms are the visible expression of higher religious ideas; its present ceremonies at the same time a shadowing forth of future persons and things (*Typi personales et reales*). Types and symbols are by no means identical. Symbol stands related to thought, as being its expression to the senses: type to antitype, as the shadow to the reality. The symbol represents the invisible; the type prefigures what is yet hidden. The one and the other we see united in the principal religious act of Mosaism, as of every [ancient] religion—sacrifice. It is a symbol of voluntary consecration to God, and the sin-offering, particularly, is a type of the complete sacrifice of the New Testament. "The idea of the typical is inseparable from the idea of a theological development, where the present is in birth with the future" (MARTENSEN). Rules for the fuller explanation of particulars are given in [works on] the Symbolism and Types of the Old Testament.

8. Since, therefore, Mosaism is a lofty accommodation to the undeveloped condition of the nation, its tendency may be called purely moral. The religious and the ethical elements are here most intimately blended. The spotless holinsss of the King of Israel is also the highest ideal for the subject (Lev. 19, 2). The lively feeling of personal unholiness, the need of the forgiveness of sins, the desire gratefully to glorify God, is at one and the same time quickened and satisfied by the sacrificial worship, and the spirit of love, mercy, and humanity is nourished even under the extremely rigid particularism of a legislation, which manifestly aimed, even in the minutest particulars, to unite religion and life most intimately together. It has been incorrectly held that the Mosaic economy of redemption is founded only on legalism and not upon real morality, since it requires merely external acts and not an internal principle. But the very opening of the decalogue shows the contrary (Ex. 20, 2); however frequently Jehovah threatens, love to him always stands in the foreground (Deut. 6, 5); and when Jesus comprehended the whole law in this one requirement, the Israelitish

conscience testified at once to the entire correctness of his interpretation (Mark 12, 28–34). What, in itself considered, might appear to be more or less inconsistent with the strictly moral character of Mosaism (see *e. g.* Ex. 3, 21. 22; 1 Sam. 15, 3), is to be explained with an eye upon the whole, in the light of the age, and in connection with the special government of God.

9. It was impossible for the law, however, to effect the fulfillment of its righteous requirement in sinful man. Its standpoint was that of external authority, like the relation of the schoolmaster to the intractable youth in his minority (Gal. 4, 1. 2). In Mosaism man stands toward God, not as a child to his father, but as a subject to his king, or as a criminal to the judge. By far the most of the commandments, consequently, are of a prohibitive nature (Col. 2, 21); as life is connected with obedience, so death is threatened to transgression (Gal. 3, 10). The love of God, indeed, is from the outset revealed and recognized (Ex. 34, 6. 7; Ps. 103, 13; 1 K. 19, 11–13), but to the awakened conscience it usually retires into the background in the presence of his holiness and righteousness, which are ever calling for new judgments. While love to Him, therefore, is demanded by the law, it is not produced by it (Rom. 8, 15). Mosaism contains even the promise of a renewal of the heart (Deut. 30, 6), but the letter, as such, kills (2 Cor. 3, 6). In this respect the spirit and force of Mosaism are strikingly symbolized in the attitude of the people at the giving of the law (Ex. 20, 18–21).

10. Thus regarded, Mosaism would be not so much preparatory to Christianity, as opposed to it, if—what must by no means be overlooked,—a place had not been reserved in it for higher development. But the same Divine revelation which founded Mosaism had given a promise of its development through prophetism (Deut. 18, 15–18). Mosaism exhibits a particularistic coloring, but the remembrances of ancient promises of salvation, which it inviolably holds (Gen. 3, 15; 49, 10), and the aspirations to which its interpreters give utterance at the height of their religious development (Num. 11, 29; 1 K. 8, 41–48), are universal in their character. Thus it exhibits a harmonious unity; not indeed of the completed edifice, but of the firm foundation on which the building was to be reared.

Comp. on the Theology of the Old Testament in general the works referred to in § 2.—On the history of Israel and the Old Testament, those of HESS, KALKAR, KURTZ, (1853, 1858). [*History of the Old Testament*, transl. by Martin, Edinb., 1859. 3 vols.], EWALD, 1851–1855. [*History of Israel*, transl. by Martineau, Lond., 1858. 2 vols.] Also DA COSTA, "*Lectures on the Truth and Value of the Old Testament Writings*," Amst., 1844.—On Moses, the Article of VAIHINGER in HERZOG'S *Real-Encyclop.*, with the literature there cited, and also the Article *Aegypten* by LEPSIUS.—On the Old Testament revelation, AUBERLIN ["*Divine Revelation*"], translated into Dutch by G. Barger, Rott., 1862 [and into English by A. B. Paton, Edinb., 1867], TRIP, "*On the Theophanies of the Old Testament*" in the Works of the Hague Society, 1856, DILLMANN, "*On the Origin of the Old Testament Religion*," Giessen, 1845.—On the Theocracy, the prize essay of C. V. VAN KALKAR, (Hague Society, 1842), and the Articles *Könige*, *Volk Gottes* and others in HERZOG'S *Real-Encycl.*—On the Mosaic worship, BÄHR, "*Symbolism of the Mosaic worship*," Heidel., 1837, KURTZ, "*The Mosaic Sacrifice*," Mitau, 1842, and "*On the symbolical dignity of numbers and the tabernacle*" in the *Stud. u. Kritik.* 1844.—On sacrifice still more particularly, the Article *Opfercultus* by OEHLER, in HERZOG'S *Real-Encycl.*, [and KURTZ, *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, transl. by Martin, Edinb., 1863).—On the history, value and rules of typology, the important article, *Vorbild*, by THOLUCK, in HERZOG, with the literature there cited [also FAIRBAIRN, *The Typology of Scripture viewed in Connection with the entire Scheme of the Divine Dispensations*, 2nd ed. Phil., 1854. 2 vols. in one].—On the Mosaic Legislation, the well known works of MICHAELIS ["*Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*," transl. by A. Smith, Lond., 1844. 4 vols], SAALSCHÜTZ, and others; also PICCARDT, *de legislat. Mos. indole morali*, Traj., 1839, DEGROOT, "*Education of Mankind.*"—On the germs of subsequent development concealed in Mosaism, THOLUCK, "*The Old Testament in the New Testament*," in the appendix to his "*Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*," UMBREIT, "*The Gospel in the Old Testament*" in the *Stud. u. Krit*, 1849. Comp. G. K. MEYER, "*The promises to the Patriarchs*," Nördhl. 1859.

Questions for consideration.—Difference and agreement of the Old and New Testaments.—Survey and criticism of the different views of Mosaism.—Is it possible to explain the origin of Mosaism in Israel on merely natural grounds?—The hypothesis of stone-worship.—Agreement and difference between the Theocracy and the later hierarchy.—To what extent is Mosaism entirely original?—(SPENCER and WITSIUS).—The different forms of special revelation.—The symbolical character of other ancient religions also.—How is the former over-estimation, and the subsequent repudiation of Typology to be explained.—More particular exhibition of the symbolico-typical element in the different kinds of sacrifices.—How far may the Mosaic legislation, compared with others, serve as evidence of the divine origin of Mosaism?—Mosaism and the Messianic expectations.

§ 5.

Prophetism.

Prophetism, in its character not less unique than the original Mosaism, and to be explained neither in a rationalistic way, nor as a sort of divination, was at once the support and the fulfillment of previous revelation, and as such, an unspeakable boon, not only to Israel, but also to the heathen world. It paved the way for the Gospel in the New Testament, exerted an important influence upon the contents and form of its preaching, and beyond all reasonable doubt bore witness to its exalted excellence.

1. As Moses stood, as a prophet, far above his contemporaries (Num. 12, 6–8), so, after him, arose, from time to time, extraordinary men of God. Even in the period of the Judges individual prophets appeared (Judges 4, 4. 6, 8), but it was properly not till the time of Samuel that the prophetic age began. He appears to have been the founder of the so-called schools of the prophets, which were subsequently more fully developed under Elijah and Elisha. His own relation to Saul

and David represents that of his successors towards later kings. As defenders of the Theocracy, called by Jehovah himself, they come forth from different stations and circles. They stand in no respect above the law, but maintain its authority, emphasize its spiritual interpretation, and interpret the deeds and counsels of God, into which they penetrated more deeply than others. Hence they bear the name of "Messengers of Jehovah," "Speakers," "Seers," etc., and are in more respects than one distinguished from the priests. They teach the people to understand the signs of the times, and not unfrequently utter predictions, properly so called, that is, distinct announcements of future events, which could not possibly be discovered in any natural way. If there is little reason for regarding the foretelling of future events as the chief calling of the prophets, impartial criticism finds quite as little ground for excluding *a priori* from their vocation the prediction of hidden things which stood in organic connection with the development of the kingdom of God. The principle that the knowledge of the prophets in no case transcended the natural bounds of human information is in irreconcilable conflict both with the utterances of their own consciousness and with facts.

2. That the Israelitish prophetism may be styled an entirely unique phenomenon is evident, partly when we consider it in itself and partly when we compare it with the heathen divination. A plant like this could blossom only on a theistic soil; prophetism can be explained only as a link in a chain of special provisions of salvation. We have no choice except between the view of it as supernatural or unnatural. To explain prophetism on rationalistic grounds is to forget that the utterance of human feeling and the prophetic consciousness of the Seer were often directly opposed to each other (1 Sam. 15, 11. 16, 6. 7; 2 Sam. 7, 3–7), and is finally to make the theocracy merely a device and calculation favored by the current of events. The Israelitish prophet saw more than others, because God communicated more to him. Undoubtedly the capacity for receiving such a communication existed in the prophets in no common degree, but the source of their personal certainty respecting the present and the future lay in special revelations, given to them in different forms, as they were not to other men.

However untenable may be the theory of a mere magical and mechanical inspiration, the fact itself of inspiration is not overthrown. Prophecy was the ripe fruit not only of a divine influence, but of revelation, adapted, in respect to contents and form, to the individuality of the prophets and to existing circumstances, though without being susceptible of being explained only from these. "History is the introduction to prophecy, but not its measure" (DELITZSCH). Genuine prophecy is the product of the combined activity of the Divine and the human factor; upon the foundation of what is given in the past and the present, it directs its look to the mysteries of the future.

3. Prophetism stands in very close connection with Mosaism. It supports the prescriptions of the latter, which otherwise would have been constantly forgotten (Mal. 4, 4. 5), and at the same time developes its doctrinal import and adds essentially new elements. If Mosaism declared the unity of God, the prophets of Israel extol his majesty in language of inimitable sublimity, and lash with satire the folly of idolatry (Is. 40 and 44). The idea of the Angel of the Covenant and of the Spirit of the Lord is much more prominent in the prophetic word than in the books of Moses (Is. 63, 9. 10). The doctrine of angels, like that of demons, of which there are only slight traces in Mosaism, is strongly and in many forms brought out, especially by the later prophets. The expectation also of the resurrection and the judgment after death, on which Moses was silent, is expressly mentioned by some of them (Is. 25, 6–9; 26, 19; Ezek. 37, 1–14; Dan. 12, 2. 3).—Since Mosaism was in principle purely ethical, the prophetic word predominantly directs attention to the spiritual nature of God's commandments, and, in opposition to a mechanical formalism and ritualism, insists upon internal consecration to God as the essential part of the sacrificial worship (1 Sam. 15, 22; Is. 1, 11–18; Micah 6, 6–8).—If, finally, Mosaism was limited and national, the prophets took their stand on the wall of separation which yet they could not remove, and proclaimed a kingdom of God, which, going forth from Jerusalem, embraces all nations (Is. 2, 4); a golden age in the future, brighter than the heathen had ever dreamed of (Is. 11, 6–9).

4. Messianic prophecy also, both in the more limited and in the broader sense, (that relating to the person and kingdom of the Messiah) may, in a certain sense, be regarded as a development of Mosaism. It was a continuation of a golden chain of prophecies with which the Pentateuch had already made the prophets and their contemporaries familiar (see § 4, 10). The house of David, who, himself a prophet, was gladdened with the sublimest prospect (2 Sam. 23, 1–7; Matt. 22, 43; Acts 2, 30), was the point from which the highest expectations, which were delineated in ever clearer lines, were made to proceed. In the earliest prophets, Joel (2, 28–32), Amos (9, 11. 12), and Hosea (3; 5), they are expressed in more general forms, but in Micah (4; 5), and especially in Isaiah, the image of the eagerly looked for Branch of David is depicted in stronger and stronger colors (Is. 7, 14; 9, 1–6; 11, 1–10). To the description of his kingly glory is joined that of his prophetic and priestly offices, especially in the last chapters of Isaiah (42; 49; 50, 4–11; 52, 13—53, 12). Although the Branch of David is not forgotten (53, 3), it is more especially the "Servant of the Lord" who proclaims his salvation, not only to Israel but to the Gentiles, suffers the innocent for the guilty, and as the true, spiritual Israel becomes the source of both temporal and spiritual blessings to all the nations of the earth.*—What was thus announced before the captivity, was during it guarded, repeated, and enriched with new features. Upon the ruins of Jerusalem Jeremiah beholds the throne of David rising in brighter splendor (23, 5. 6), and then presently exhibits the spiritual glory of the new dispensation as compared with the old (31, 31–34). Ezekiel describes the Son of David under the winning image of a cedar (17, 22–24), and shepherd (34, 23), and beholds a stream of living water issuing forth from the new temple (47, 1–12). The world-prophet Daniel stands upon an eminence, whence in the silence of night he sees the image of earthly monarchs broken in pieces at his feet, and the kingdom of heaven, symbolized in the form of a Son of Man, coming with the clouds of heaven (Ch. 2 and 7).—After the captivity, also, the same expectation of salvation manifests itself in a great variety of forms, but with an essentially similar import. Haggai (2, 7–9)

* Comp. Oehler, *der Knecht Jehovah's in Deutero (?) Jesaiah.* Stuttg., 1865.

anticipates a revelation of God's kingdom even among the Gentiles, which shall raise the glory of the second temple far above that of the first. Zechariah sees the priestly and kingly dignity united in the Branch of David, who comes in gentleness to the miserable (6, 12. 13; 9, 9). Malachi, who sees in Him the messenger of the covenant, announces also the second Elias as his forerunner (3, 1; 4, 5). Each prophet stands upon the shoulders of his predecessor; but they all alike point to one, who is the end of the law and the prophets.

5. No wonder that such a prophetism may be styled an unspeakable benefit to the people of Israel. It was the steadfast supporter of revelation, the bulwark of religion, and, so to speak, the incorruptible conscience of the theocratic state. Through prophetism Israel saw at once its past history justified, its present explained, and its future made sure. Hence it was that the possession of prophets was regarded as a distinguished privilege (Neh. 9, 30; Amos 2, 11), while the absence of them was regarded as a national calamity (Ps. 74, 9).—Even on the Gentile world a marked influence was exerted by prophetism. For, the life and labors of some of the prophets outside of the land of promise (Elisha, Jonah, Daniel) had a direct tendency to pave the way for the establishment of the kingdom of God in a broader circle. To this the Greek translation of the prophetic word especially contributed.

6. Thus prophetism, both in Israel and in the Gentile world, was a preparation for the gospel of the New Testament. It steadily supported Monotheism, without which a more particular revelation of salvation was not conceivable. It aroused and sharpened the sense of sin, that man might long more earnestly for redemption. It kept hope alive, when hope seemed to be in vain, and preached the comfort of promise instead of the terror of the law. The entire personality, even, the work and the fate of the most eminent prophets, were to serve as typical of Him, who was to be the crown and centre of all the revelations of God (Is. 61, 1; comp. Luke 4, 18. 19; Matt. 12, 40; 23, 37).

7. To the student of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament, the study of the prophetic word of the Old Testament is of undeniable importance. On the contents and form of the primitive preaching of the Gospel it exerted a manifest influence.

The Gospel came forth as the fulfilment of the prophetic expectations, and appealed, in proof of its divinity, to prophetic declarations (Luke 24, 27; Acts 17, 3 and many other passages). In the mirror of these Scriptures our Lord beheld his own image, and thousands have recognized him as the Christ. The description, both of his person and work, in the New Testament finds its key in the language and the ceremonial worship of the Old. Nay, with all the difference in form between the prophetic and the Apostolic utterances, the influence of the former upon the latter is incontestable. The Eschatology of the New Testament, for example, is clothed to a great extent in the garb of symbols taken from the prophetic writings, and reëchoes in louder tones Old Testament utterances. Neglect the prophetic writings, and those of the Apostles will seem partly unintelligible and partly incredible. Study the latter in the light of the former and their truth and divinity will appear more and more evident. That it is necessary, however, in the explanation of prophecy to distinguish between its contents and form, and to guard on the one hand against a realistic abuse of oriental imagery and on the other against spiritualizing into thin air the realities announced, scarcely needs to be said. Particular rules for the interpretation of the prophetic word are given in the Hermeneutics of the Old Testament.

On prophetism in general compare, in addition to the monographs of KNOBEL (1838), KOSTER (1838), and EWALD (1840), especially DELITZSCH "*Biblico-prophetical Theology*," etc., 1845; best of all, the important articles of OEHLER, *Prophetenthum* and *Weissagung des A. B.* in HERZOG'S *Real-Encycl.* XII and XVII, THOLUCK, "*The Prophets and their Prophecy*," 1860. [Also FAIRBAIRN, "*Prophecy, its Nature, Functions, etc.*," 1856].—On the Messianic prophecies especially, the article, *Messias*, by THOLUCK, in HERZOG, HOFFMANN, "*Prophecy and Fulfillment*," Nördl., 1841, HENGSTENBERG, "*Christology of the Old Testament*," [transl. 1854–1859. 4 vols]. VAN OOSTERZEE, "*Christology*," I. bl. 39–74, II. bl. 543–554. [J. PYE SMITH, *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*," 5th ed., 2 vols. 1859.] Comp. also DUSTERDIECK, *de rei propheticæ in V. T. quam universæ tam Messianæ naturâ ethicâ.* Gött., 1852.

Questions for consideration.—How is the gift of prophecy described by the prophets themselves?—Have we good grounds for trusting this expression of their consciousness?—History and criteria of pseudo-prophetism.—The schools of the prophets.—The relation of the prophetic office to that of the priests and kings.—Organic connection and development of Messianic prophecy.—Reason and meaning of the disappearance of the prophetic gift in Israel.—Peculiarity of the prophets of the Old in distinction from those of the New Testament.

§ 6.

Judaism.

The original Hebraism, which was taught in its purity by Moses and the prophets, on passing into the later Judaism, received in no sense its normal development, but sank rather into a state of degeneracy and decay. Such is the view given to us by a survey of the religious condition, ideas and needs of the contemporaries of our Lord. With these we must be acquainted in order to understand and properly appreciate the import and form of the declarations of Jesus and the Apostles.

1. Although the words of our Lord and the Apostles certainly come into close connection with those of Moses and the prophets, it is manifest, nevertheless, that this connection takes place with a distinct reference to given conditions and particular necessities. Without remembering this, the doctrine of the New Testament would be unintelligible; hence the knowledge of Judaism, not less than Hebraism, is not only desirable, but necessary.

2. By Judaism is meant the particular moral and religious state of the Israelites (then styled Jews) after the Babylonian captivity, and whatever was necessarily connected with it. It has not incorrectly been described as "the perverted restoration of Hebraism, and the mingling of its positive constituent parts with foreign mythological and metaphysical doctrines, in which a speculative understanding without living enthusiasm is

dominant; a chaos, which awaits a new creation" (DeWette). It is known, partly from Biblical sources (the latest parts of the Old Testament, the Gospels, Acts, and several Epistles of the New Testament, and, to a certain extent, from the Septuagint); partly from other writings (the Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphical books of the Old Testament, the oldest Targums, the Talmud, the Jewish parts of the Sibylline books, the writings of Flavius Josephus, Philo, etc.).

3. The moral and religious condition of the Jews after the Babylonian Captivity exhibited in more than one respect a relatively favorable character. Idolatry had ceased, the temple was rebuilt, a number of synagogues and houses of prayer had been erected (Acts 15, 21), and the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, read there in regular order, was widely diffused. United in a single volume, and extensively circulated through the Alexandrian translation, the Old Testament was sharply distinguished [in the Hebrew Canon] from the Apocryphal literature, which arose at this period, and was carefully explained and defended by those who were devoted to Rabbinic learning. The separating wall between Israel and the Gentile world was visibly lowered, and a considerable number of proselytes, both of the gate and of righteousness, attached themselves to the hitherto despised Jews. Forms were in many respects excellent, and the heroic Maccabean age showed that the old spirit had not wholly disappeared. And finally, the expectation of a Messiah was now much better known, more widely diffused, and more highly prized than ever before.

4. But notwithstanding all this, the period in question exhibits strong traces of senility. The religious life, in attributing holiness to knowledge on the one hand and to works on the other, became cramped and stunted, and exhibited a character rather intellective and anxious, than pious and joyous; trivial exactness took the place of the earlier zeal. False prophets, it is true, did not arise in this period, but the voice of the true prophets was no longer heard. The past was appealed to, but without elevating the present to the earlier eminence. Beside the law, tradition came into vogue (Matt. 15, 1–14); along with the Mosaic ideas, the influence of Alexandrian, Persian, and other religious conceptions began to be visible, and while

knowledge puffed up, love was forgotten. Opinions were divided between the schools of HILLEL and SHAMMAI, and the sects which arose at this period contributed to the degeneracy of Judaism.

5. The *Pharisees*, who represented the conservative principle, arose as a sect about three centuries before Christ. They exerted a great influence among the people, especially among the women (Mark 12, 40), and most of the scribes were in their ranks. With all their divisions among themselves, they regarded themselves as ONE, *separated* (*pharash*), not merely as Israelites from the Gentiles, but also as pious persons from the sinners among their own countrymen. Their theology was a complicated system of Pneumatology, Christology and Eschatology; their ethical views were characterized by formalism, rigorism and casuistry; their practice by zelotism (Matt. 23, 15) in the practice of religion and by revolutionary tendencies in civil life, which made them dreaded opposers of the Roman power.—The *Sadducees*, who, in distinction from the Pharisees, professed to be righteous (*tsadhaq*)—unless their name be derived from a certain Zadok—stood in somewhat the same relation to them as the Epicureans did to the Stoics. Less numerous, but of a higher class than their opponents, and not unfrequently agreeing with the court party (Mark 3, 6), they held, in relation to the state, very conservative, in relation to religion, extremely liberal, principles.

Absolutely denying any divine pre-ordination, they made the doctrine of moral freedom so prominent, and threw that of future retribution so entirely into the shade, that their whole view of life must have been diametrically opposed to that of the Pharisees. The charge, however, of gross immorality, is no better supported than that of their rejecting the whole of the Old Testament except the Law. It cannot be questioned, on the other hand, that they denied the existence of angels, and their constant hostility to the Gospel of the Resurrection (Acts 4, 2; 23, 8,) is quite in character.—The *Essenes*, our knowledge of whom is derived, not from the New Testament, but from the work of Philo, "*quod omnis probus liber*," and Josephus (comp. also Pliny, H. N. V. 17), and who must not be confounded with the *Therapeutae*, may be regarded as representatives of the prac-

tico-ascetic principle. They were, so to speak, the anchorites of Israel, and were distinguished by their contempt of earthly treasures, refusal to take an oath, high regard for celibacy, disapproval of animal sacrifices, and holding all their property in common. The difference between them and John the Baptist, and especially our Lord, is so great as to render the conjecture of an original affinity of the Gospel of the kingdom with Essenism entirely untenable.

Amid the mutual strifes of these sects, we find the people treated with contempt and ever growing worse, (Matt. 9, 36; comp. John 7, 49). The religious class among the people consisted largely of the poor (πτωχοί, Heb. *ebhyonim*) in respect both to earthly treasure and to much that was regarded as wisdom and piety (Matt. 5, 3; 11, 25). To these plain and simple people belonged not only the kindred of our Lord, but also the larger part of his friends and followers, and even among the despised Samaritans there were not wanting those of a similar character (John 4, 39–42). The enmity between the latter people and the Jews could only result in increased moral degeneracy.

7. The religious ideas of the Jews, developed amid such relations, exhibited a peculiar combination of light and shade. Monotheism, with many, had practically a character rather deistic than theistic; religion was not so much the common worship of God, as a slavish service. On some points their doctrinal views were undoubtedly affected by foreign ideas. The doctrine of angels was more fully developed, (see e. g. the LXX on Deut. 33, 2; comp. Acts 7, 53; Gal. 3, 19; Heb. 2, 2), and also that of evil spirits, in connection with which exorcism became prominent (Matt. 12, 27). Eschatology, also, was more fully brought out, especially through Pharisaism, although in essentials it adhered to individual prophetic declarations (Dan. 12, 1–3). In respect, finally, to ethics, the great principles of Mosaism were illustrated, and applied to particular cases, but were frequently weakened, if not rather contradicted (Matt. 23, 16–22), by a great number of prescriptions and prohibitions. Thus the Jewish religion degenerated in proportion as its doctrinal and ethical teachings were extended.

8. We must speak more particularly of the Messianic expectation during this period. The doubt whether such an expecta-

tion existed (B. Bauer) must be reckoned among the curiosities of theological literature. Easy, however, as it is to prove its existence, it is somewhat difficult to define its precise nature. Josephus was familiar with it, but for obvious reasons, is silent. Philo has only a single reference to it, (*de praem.* p. 924, *de execrat.* c. 9), and even the Old Testament Apocryphal books contain only a few occasional hints (see e. g. 1 Macc. 2, 57; 4, 46; 14, 41). More may be gathered from the so-called book of Enoch, written probably about a century before Christ, while the fourth book of Ezra, although of later origin, is an important source of information. Above all, we must consult what is found in the New Testament respecting this idea.

From a comparison of various passages, it appears that the Messianic expectation, although universally current, was by no means uniform in import or value, and no where existed in a fully developed form. The entire history of the world was divided into two periods, the pre-Messianic and the Messianic (the *αἰὼν οὗτος* and *ὁ μέλλων*, Heb. *olam hazzeh* and *olam habba*). The former was the time of strife and misery, the latter of peace and blessedness, to spring from the advent of the Messiah. The passage from the one to the other of these periods, is described as the last days, (*ἔσχαται ἡμέραι, ὕστεροι καιροί, ἔσχατη ὥρα, κ. τ. λ.*). With this coincides the beginning of the days of the Messiah, the manifestation of whom will be announced by sensible tokens. These will consist in days of great distress (*ὠδῖνες*), in the appearance of a special star (Matt. 2, 2), the coming of Elias or one of the other prophets as the forerunner of the Lord (Mark 9, 12; John 1, 21), and espccially of a mysterious evil being (the Anti-Christ, Armillus), while the establishment of his kingdom will be preceded by a struggle with hostile secular powers, (Gog and Magog). After all this, the Messiah will come, or rather he will appear, no one will know whence.

So, at least, thought a portion of the people (John 7, 27), while the Scribes expected that he would come from Bethlehem (Matt. 2, 4–6). He was to be a man among and from men (see Justin M. *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 49), directly springing from the family of David, and anointed with the Holy Ghost. It cannot be shown that the popular belief expected a miraculous

conception of the Messiah from the Holy Ghost, or that it attributed to him a superhuman nature and dignity. There was scarcely place, also, for the idea of a suffering and dying Messiah; on the contrary, they expected that the Christ would remain forever (John 12, 34), and would establish his kingdom in Israel (Acts 1, 6). On the question, whether the ten tribes would share in this salvation along with Judah and Benjamin, opinions were divided. In any event, however, it was hoped that the Messiah would settle all disputed questions (John 4, 25), reveal hidden things (John 16, 30), and especially perform a number of astonishing miracles (Matt. 11, 2–6; John 7, 31), and that, in consequence of all this, a deliverance, by some regarded as external, by others as spiritual, would come (Luke 1, 74. 75). At his advent he was to raise the dead, and first of all the Israelites, triumph over the enmity of hell and the heathen, and prepare for the world a salvation, in which the non-Israelitish nations were also to share. The center of this work was to be Jerusalem; the purified earth, its theater; and the restoration of all things, its crown (*παλιγγενεσία, ἀποκατάστασις πάντων*).

9. The nation in which we find these ideas, stood in need of higher light and life, although the need was not generally recognized. Still less was it satisfactorily met. The desire for external deliverance was far greater than for spiritual healing. Still, the latter was not wholly wanting (Luke 2, 38), and might, at any event, be aroused. The forerunner must, consequently, precede the Lord.

Comp. on the history and sources of Judaism in general, De Wette, "*Biblical Dogmatics*," § 76–82, and the literature there cited; Gfrörer, "*The Century of Redemption*," 1838; Lutterbeck, S. 99. De Pressensé, *History of the Three first centuries*, etc.—On the different sects at this period, Trigland, *Syntagma trium scriptt. de tribus Jud. sectis.* 1703; Van Koetsveld, "*The Pharisees, Sadducees and Herodians*, s'Gravenh, 1862, and especially the articles in Herzog.—On the expectation of a Messiah, the article by Oehler, in Herzog, IX; De Pressensé, *Jesus Christ, his times*, etc. 1844, p. 81 sqq.; Lassen, "*Judaism in Palestine at the time of Christ.*" Freib. in Br. 1866, S. 391ff. Comp. Van Oosterzee, "*Christology of the Old Testament*," bl. 494 sqq. and on the whole of the period of "the

fulness of time," his "*Life of Jesus*," bl. 245, and the literature there given, to which may be added an essay by REITSMA, "*On the religious thinking in general at the time of Jesus*," Waarh. in L., 1867.

Questions for consideration. Whence chiefly the difference between Judaism and Hebraism?—A more particular criticism and comparison of the sources.—The Jewish Apocalyptic literature.—The Alexandrian philosophy as related to Judaism.—What may be determined, with sufficient certainty, in regard to the origin, character and mutual relation of the different sects?—The relation between Essenism and Pythagoreanism.—Origin and peculiarities of the Samaritans, and their expectation of a Messiah.—Proselytism and the Diaspora.—What, upon the whole, are the bright and the dark sides of the expectation of the Messiah at this period?—What remnants of genuine Hebriasm may still be observed in Judaism?

§ 7.

John the Baptist.

In the mission and labors of the forerunner of our Lord, Mosaism approached its consummation, Prophetism reached its culmination, and Judaism received a wholesome check.

1. The Biblical Theology of the New Testament, can neither dwell upon the life of the Baptist nor exhibit the nobleness of his character. It contents itself, in general, with designating the place which he occupies, as an indispensable link in the chain of development of Christian doctrine.

2. If Moses aimed to bring men, through the law, to the knowledge of sin, and then to awaken a desire for salvation, the voice of the second Elias was raised for the same purpose. As standing upon the shoulders of the earlier messengers of God and nearest to Jesus, he deserves to be called the greatest of the prophets (Luke 7, 29). He proclaimed no new revelations, but firmly grasped the old, and brought them into direct connection with a person already existing (Luke 16, 16). His

entire appearing and labors are one voice: his cry is the mighty finale of the prophetic symphony. But just for this reason it became to Judaism a wholesome check. It struck a deadly blow at all self righteousness and brought the nation to a sharp but beneficent crisis.

3. The significance of the mission of John lies principally in his testimony concerning the person and the work of the Messiah. In examining the contents of this testimony, a distinction must be made between the period before, and the period after, the baptism of our Lord. The most unequivocal and decisive utterances of John were made toward the end of his course, (Acts 13, 25).

It is quite remarkable, how at first the form of his expectation of the Messiah was affected by that of his own work, and at the same time bore a strongly marked Old Testament character. Himself baptizing, he announced another, who should baptize with the gifts of the Holy Spirit,—a Messiah who should appear not merely as a Saviour, but as a Judge in Israel. He declared the insufficiency of mere descent from Abraham, without, however, speaking of the calling of the heathen. After this general announcement of the Messiah, he began, after the baptism of our Lord in the Jordan, to point Him out as the promised one. His heavenly origin (John 1, 15) and His atoning work, presented in the most universal form (John 1, 29), he then made distinctly prominent, and in his final testimony, spoke most emphatically of the incomprehensible greatness of the Christ and of the peculiar relation of his forerunner to Him (John 3, 27–36).

4. This testimony of the Baptist is important on account of its source. It was the fruit of careful education, close study of the Scriptures, special divine revelation, and the sight of Jesus, in person. Its value becomes more marked when we observe how much above the thoughts and wishes of his contemporaries he rises, and how superior to all is the place assigned to him by our Lord (Matt. 10, 7–15; John 5, 35). Still, in comparison with the doctrine of our Lord and his Apostles, the testimony of John the Baptist is poor, and goes, in no essential particular, beyond the Old Testament point of view.

Comp. DE WIJS, "*John the Baptist, in his life and doctrines.*" Schoonh, 1852; the works on the gospel history; the article by GÜDER in HERZOG, and the literature there given.

Questions for consideration. The time of the appearing of John the Baptist, Luke 3, 12.—Substance and value of the testimony of Josephus concerning John.—Connection of the circumstances of the life of the Baptist with his mission.—His relation to the Old and New Testaments.—Difference and agreement of the gospel narratives concerning his Messianic testimony.—What is the meaning of John 1, 15. 29?—of Matt. 11, 3?—The disciples of John.—The abiding significance of the mission of John.

§ 8.

Result.

Mosaism and Prophetism contained both the germ and the connecting links of the truth, the testimony to which, as given by our Lord and his first disciples, is recorded in the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament. In Judaism we find nothing from which the personal character of our Lord and the contents of his gospel can be explained on merely natural grounds.

"The radical opposition, existing between the two religious movements is clearly seen in their definitive results. The teachings of Christ issued in the Gospel; those of the Rabbins in the Talmud. On the one side, we have a living history thoroughly penetrated by a new spirit, without fixed formulas and without a ritual; on the other side, a body of entangling traditions, directions for all the forms of piety carried into the most trivial details."

E. DE PRESSENSÉ.

PART II.

THE THEOLOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.

§ 9.

General Survey.

In the present inquiry respecting the teachings of Christ, it is proposed to present the substance of the instruction concerning God and divine things given by our Lord himself during his life on earth, as it is recorded especially in the four canonical Gospels. In order to estimate it aright, it is necessary first of all, to state clearly the special character of this instruction, its source, its form, and its relation both to the teachings of the Old Testament and to those of the Apostles and their associates.

1. Although our Lord Jesus Christ did not appear on earth simply, or even chiefly, to make known to men a new doctrine, and though he taught no doctrinal system as such, he yet came into the world, as he expressly declared, to bear witness to the truth (John 18, 37). This he did first, by His personal manifestation (John 14, 6–9), and secondly, by His word and the light thereby shed upon God and divine things. The inquiry respecting the teachings of Christ is specially concerned with the latter.

2. The Biblical Theology of the New Testament treats of the doctrine, or rather the teachings of our Lord concerning God and divine things, to the exclusion of every other subject. It presents the substance and connection of the ideas, whether implied or expressed by Him, concerning God and man and

their relations to each other, and these as they were uttered by Himself during His life on earth. Although in a certain sense the word of the Prophets (1 Pet. 1, 11) and of the Apostles (Luke 10, 16) may be regarded as His, yet for the present we confine ourselves exclusively to what He himself spoke.

3. Something, also, concerning our Lord's instructions can be learned outside of the four gospels. Tradition makes us acquainted with a few unwritten sayings, so called. The book of Acts and the Epistles also contain single contributions (Acts 20, 35; 1 John 1, 5; 4, 21). The four Gospels, however, must ever remain the principal source; and the Biblical Theology of the New Testament is not obliged to wait for the last word of critical inquiry in respect to their authority, in order to attach the highest value to their statements respecting the instructions of our Lord. This it may do all the more confidently, since even the critics who, for instance, question the genuineness of the first Gospel in its present form, stop to note the discourses (*logia*) of our Lord preserved therein as upon the whole a true expression of His spirit. The fourth Gospel, however, in the present state of critical inquiry, demands a separate examination (comp. § 3, 2).

4. In order to obtain the right point of view it is, first of all, necessary to study the peculiar *character* of our Lord's instructions, as given in all the Gospels. As the whole is known from its parts, so in turn the parts receive light from the correctly apprehended spirit of the whole. It is not enough to say that the instructions of Jesus exhibit a high *religious* character, for this they have in common with many other religions, and the history, even, of our own time shows what wretched trifling is occasionally used with the word "religious." The instructions of our Lord are distinguished for their distinctly *soteriological* character; in other words, all that He taught concerning God and man, sin and grace, the present and the future life, and especially all which He declared concerning Himself, stands in a more or less close connection with the *redemption* which He came to reveal and bestow. It is not so much religious truth in general, as specifically saving truth, which was brought to light by Him. The possibility of exhibiting the instructions of our Lord, with all their richness, as a whole, is given in the

fact, that from first to last they are in respect to their character, *Gospel.* Luke 4, 16–22; comp. John 6, 68.

5. In inquiring after the source of the truths taught by our Lord, the part which belongs to the natural world and to the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament must not be overlooked. Still less must His maternal training, His contact in various ways with the spirit of His age and its most prominent representatives, and the painful experiences of His life be forgotten. More than all else, however, the personality of Jesus was the principal source of his instructions, which, for this reason, in the highest sense of the word may be called *His*, and which, from first to last, bear the stamp of the most marked originality. The denial of this by our Lord in John 7, 16 is merely in appearance. He constantly declared what He *himself* had seen with the Father (John 12, 44–50), and proclaimed the truth because and as he bore it in himself. His knowledge of God and man was not discursive but intuitive; it was not derived from logical propositions or the observations of particulars, but from internal intuition.

6. Not only the contents, but also the form of his instructions was determined by the personality of our Lord. Without scholastic formalism or show of rabbinic learning (John 7, 15), he discoursed, as the occasion presented itself, in a form entirely popular but never vulgar, and which was constantly varied according to the nature of the subject, the aim of the speaker, and the wants of the hearers. The tone of lofty authority with which he spoke distinguished him, not only from the Scribes of his day, but also from the prophets of the Old Testament (Matt. 5–7), and his winning words impressed even the minds of those who were least susceptible (Luke 4, 22; John 7, 46). Although here and there irony is not wanting (Mark 7, 9; Luke 11, 41), the ground-tone is love, sadness, and holy earnestness, and never does the discord of biting sarcasm appear. Both the parabolic form of speech in the three first Gospels, and the pregnant and paradoxical form which often appears in the fourth, increase the impressiveness of his words. Never, in short, has a more perfect harmony of subject and form been seen than in the instructions of our Lord. The highest truth and freedom are here combined with the highest

beauty—a beauty, however, not sensuous in its character, but moral and holy. In his hands the materials employed are transmuted into gold.

7. With all this originality in respect to form and matter, the instructions of our Lord were not isolated, but stood in very distinct relations to what preceded and followed. They constituted the golden intermediate link in a connected chain of very different and yet never conflicting doctrines. The words of Moses and the prophets were apprehended, presented, fulfilled, and completed by Jesus in such a way, that in his hands the old assumed a wholly new phase, and the new appeared to be, properly, naught else than the ripe fruit of the old. Even when he does not directly quote the prophetic word, it is the clear mirror in which he beholds himself and the kingdom of God. The Apocryphal books of the Old Testament he never makes use of, but discriminatingly directs the eyes of his disciples to the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms (Luke 24, 44; comp. Matt. 23, 35). According both to the synoptical Gospels and the Gospel of John, his teaching stood in close connection with that of the Old Testament. In the preaching of the Apostles, on the contrary, his words were the brief, clear and powerful text, and it will be seen further on, that the most essential parts of their various doctrinal teachings have their root in the declarations of our Lord or are really connected with them. His instructions are, therefore, the light which, in various shades, is reflected in theirs. We pass now to survey the splendor of this light.

Comp. on the principal points referred to in this general survey, F. A. KRUMMACHER "*on the Spirit and the Form of the Gospel History*," Leipz. 1805 (an old book, but still useful), WITKOP, "*Inquiry how far the personality of Jesus was the source of his teachings*," Waarh. in Liefde, 1841; REUSS, S. 171; SCHMID, S. 121 sqq.; BAUR. S. 45–121; VAN OOSTERZEE, *Leven van Jesus*, new ed. I. bl. 435 sqq. and II. bl. 343 sqq. with the literature there referred to; to which may be added VAN KOETSVELD, "*The Parables of the Saviour*" (in Dutch) and DELITZSCH, "*Jesus and Hillel.*" The glory of the teachings of Jesus is inimitably set forth in TEN KATE'S poem, *De Schepping.*

Questions for Consideration: What theological directions in earlier and later times have attached a too exclusive importance to the teachings of Jesus; which have too much ignored their value?—Relation in this respect between the earlier Rationalism and the modern Naturalism.—What does, and what does not belong to the circle of the ἀλήθεια, of which Jesus testifies?—Different value of the *dicta* ἄγραφα.—Why does the preaching of Jesus bear the name of the preaching of the Gospel of the kingdom?—What is there properly new in the preaching of Jesus as distinguished from that of earlier men of God?—The typico-symbolical character of the first discourse of Jesus at Nazareth, Luke 4, 16–22.—What is the meaning and force of John 7, 15. 16?—Was Jesus a Rabbi?—Personality in connection with subjectivity, temperament and character.—Comparison of the parables of Jesus with those of the Rabbins, especially in regard to form.—Agreement and difference between the doctrine of Jesus and that of Moses and the prophets.—Why do the apostles in the book of Acts and in the Epistles appeal so seldom to our Lord's own words?

CHAPTER I.

The Synoptical Gospels.

§ 10.

The Kingdom of God.

No idea is so prominent in the instructions of the Lord, recorded in the three first Gospels, as that of the kingdom of God or the kingdom of heaven, promised of old by the prophets and expected by the contemporaries of Jesus. The Gospel which he preached was a Gospel of the kingdom, and this kingdom itself one of a moral and religious nature, which, un-

limited in extent and eternal in duration, in its tendency to unite mankind and make them holy and happy, embraces heaven and earth.

1. In studying the instructions of our Lord as given in the Synoptical Gospels, we must begin with the fundamental idea by which they are pervaded. It is that of the kingdom of God (in Mark and Luke) or of heaven (generally in Matthew), also the kingdom of his Father (Matt. 26, 29), of the Father of the righteous (Matt. 13, 43), or of the Son of man (Matt. 16, 28). "The fundamental idea (says REUSS) which reappears every moment in the teachings of Jesus, is that of the kingdom of God." Like John he begins from the first with this idea (Mark 1, 15; Comp. Matt. 9, 35) and connects his preaching with the expectation of the Old Testament (Ps. 22, 29; Obad. 21; comp. also the Book of Wisdom, 10, 10). This expectation was so general among his contemporaries and so much cherished, that neither He nor John regarded it necessary to define what exactly was to be understood by this term. We must derive from his teachings themselves, the idea of this kingdom, which is only twice spoken of by the Apostles (comp. however, 2 Pet. 1, 11; Rev. 1, 9 and Acts 1, 6), but very frequently in his own discourses. He announces the Gospel of the kingdom as a revealed mystery (Matt. 13, 11). From the different individual characters of it given, we must and may bring before us the image of the whole.

2. It is clear, then, (1) that this kingdom is *something new.* Since it was to come only in the fullness of time (Matt. 4, 17), it did not previously exist on earth. It is, therefore, not merely the continuation of the old line of things, but the beginning of an order of things never hitherto seen (Luke 10, 23. 24; comp. Matt. 26, 28). (2) It is something *now actually present.* Where He comes, it appears with Him; it is already in the midst of those who inquire when He shall appear (Luke 17, 20. 21). It is by no means identical with eternal blessedness; consummated in that, it is here virtually and essentially present, and although not of earth is established on earth, though not with external show or noise. It is, further, (3) something *spiritual;* it belongs to a higher sphere of life than this visible cre-

ation. The privileges, duties and expectations of its subjects are chiefly, though not exclusively, of a spiritual nature. Its history is to be directly the reverse of that of other kingdoms (Mat. 20, 25–28; comp. Luke 22, 24–27) and the King forbids all needless mingling in the sphere of civil jurisdiction (Luke 12, 11. 12). The idea of the kingdom of God must not even be confounded with that of the Christian Church or community. The Church is merely the external and inadequate form of manifestation of the kingdom of God (Matt. 13, 24–30; 47–50). That kingdom itself is a spiritual society, membership in which is absolutely impossible without a personal change of heart (Matt. 18, 3). As such a society, it is, in regard to its extent, (4) *unlimited.* Much more than even the old prophets (comp. Is. 2, 2–4) our Lord rises above all narrow particularism, and proclaimed, not only at the end but in the midst and at the beginning of his course, the all-embracing character of the kingdom of God (Matt. 5, 13. 14; 8, 11. 12). Single expressions, which appear to breathe another spirit (Matt. 10, 5; 15, 23), may be explained by reference to special circumstances and are far exceeded in number by others of a different character (Matt. 28, 19; Luke 24, 47; Acts 1, 8). No wonder that the kingdom of God is (5) *unending*, and no more limited by time than by space. While Moses and the prophets constantly point to better days, Jesus knows nothing higher than the kingdom which he came to found, predicts its perfect triumph (Matt. 24, 14; 26, 13), and promises to be ever with his disciples (Acts 28, 20). Still, that which is so distinctly destined for eternity develops itself in time. The kingdom of God is accordingly (6) *progressive;* in accordance with its spiritual nature, advancing step by step, from small beginnings and with astonishing success (Matt. 13, 31–33; Mark 4, 26–29). For this must his disciples pray (Matt. 6, 9) and labor (Matt. 9, 37. 38). It is also possible that it will be taken away from those who unthankfully scorn it (Matt. 21, 43). Where, however, it is sought and found, it is (7) unspeakably *glorious* and *blessed* (Matt. 13, 44–46; 22, 2); a salvation, for the loss of which nothing can compensate (Luke 13, 25–30), and the obtaining of which is most of all to be desired as the pledge of every other blessing (Matt. 6, 33).

3. Combining all these features, we see the correctness of the general description, given above, of the kingdom of God. As His, it stands in direct opposition to the kingdom of darkness (Matt. 12, 26–28) and is properly, nothing less than the completed theocracy, pointed out in the Old Testament, but now exempt from limitations and exalted infinitely above the ideal of sacred or profane antiquity. "The kingdom of God, as the kingdom of Christ, as the synthesis of the glorification of God and the blessedness of the children of God, is distinctly separate from all religious ideas of the future in Heathenism, Judaism and Mohamedanism. It is founded upon the eternal covenant of God with man, preliminarily exhibited in the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New" (LANGE). The main thought in the teachings of Jesus is ever waiting for its full realization; still it draws nigh; and that the kingdom of God is no vain dream, the personality of its founder is the pledge.

Comp. on the idea of the kingdom of God the literature referred to in VAN OOSTERZEE, "*Life of Jesus*," I. bl. 461 sqq. It is singular that SCHMID, in treating of the kingdom of God, should have assigned to it the third place. Much better NEANDER, who in his *Life of Jesus*, draws from the parables of the kingdom of God a whole "system of truths." In regard to the light in which the Jewish Rabbins conceived of the kingdom of God, the well known works of SCHOETTGEN and LIGHTFOOT may be consulted.

Questions for consideration.—What difference may be observed between the preaching of John the Baptist and Jesus as regards the kingdom of God?—Why does our Lord call it a μυστήριον, Mark 4, 11? Main import, aim and connection of the parables, Matt. 13.—Differences of shading, even in these parables, in the expression of the same leading idea.—What is the meaning of Luke 17, 20. 21?—of Matt. 11, 12. 13?—Is there ground for the opinion that the idea of the kingdom of heaven in the teachings of our Lord gradually underwent some modification?—Why is this idea not made more prominent in the instructions of the Apostles?

§ 11.

Its Founder.

The founder of the kingdom of God is, according to the unvarying testimony of Jesus, none other than himself, the Christ, the Son of the living God, who as such is not only true and sinless man, but also of super-human nature and dignity to which no creature in heaven or on earth can lay claim.

1. The kingdom of God, which the best part of the nation expected (Luke 23, 59), was not merely preached by Jesus but actually founded upon earth. Both in figurative and in literal language he declares himself to have come to bestow what, without Him, men seek for in vain. He is the Heir of the vineyard (Matt. 21, 38), the Bridegroom, in honor of whom the guests are invited (Matt. 22, 2), the King (Matt. 25, 34), who in his sovereignty pronounces upon the weal or woe of his subjects. He never indeed expressly says "I am the Messiah." Rather, at least in the early part of his public ministry (Mark 1, 34), He discourages the public recognition of his Messianic dignity. But still, he clearly enough indicates himself as such (Matt. 11, 4, 5), pronounces blessed those who bear witness to Him as the Messiah (Matt. 16, 13–17), and regards a compulsory silence in regard to this truth, as not to be thought of (Luke 19, 38–40). Thus he connects himself with the Messianic expectation of his contemporaries, and proposes to realize it not in the sphere of Judaism, but of Prophetism, especially of *those* prophets who predicted the suffering as well as the glorified Christ (Luke 18, 31).

2. In the epithet "Son of Man" employed by our Lord of himself to the exclusion of every other, this Messianic consciousness is expressed by a peculiar phrase. It is borrowed from the prophetic vision recorded in Dan. 7, 13. 14, and is an allegorical mode of expressing his earthly state of humiliation. He who chooses this title for himself, shows thereby that he had a knowledge originally above that of man, and that among men he lived in a state of temporary humiliation. Hence it was that

the name, with few exceptions (Acts 7, 56; Rev. 1, 13; 14, 14), was no longer used by his disciples of their Master after He had passed from his life of humiliation to that of exaltation. Expressions like those in Matt. 12, 8; 13, 41; 16, 28 and elsewhere would sound strangely indeed, if He who uttered them had selected the title, Son of Man, merely to describe himself "as a poor child of Adam and as an object of the divine favor" (COLANI).

3. The question how and whereby the Messianic consciousness was developed, belongs not so much to the Biblical Theology of the New Testament, as to the Life of Jesus. The first simply affirms the fact that our Lord possessed this consciousness at the beginning of his ministry, and that it imparted a very distinct character to his labors. "The belief in his Messiahship Jesus had at an early period, after the days of John" (KEIM). We misunderstand and pervert the narrative in Matt. 16, 13–17, if we make it mean that before this conversation He had never deeply felt or strongly declared his Messianic dignity (COLANI). Expressions like those in Matt. 5, 11. 12; 7, 21–23; 10, 32. 33. 37–42; 12, 6–8, candidly considered, decidedly prove the contrary, as do also narratives like those in Luke 4, 16–22; 7, 18–23. The growing clearness and strength with which our Lord, towards the end of his life, spoke of his Messiahship, was not the result of the process of internal development, but of the relations which developed themselves in connection with the plan of his work.

4. But although he distinguishes himself from every man, he is far from feeling himself united with mankind only in appearance: on the contrary he lays manifest emphasis upon the fact of his true humanity. He holds himself unconditionally subject to the rule that man is not to live by bread alone (Matt. 4, 4), attributes to himself body (Luke 24, 39), soul (Matt. 26, 38) and spirit (Luke 23, 46), and compares himself with other men (Matt. 12, 41. 42). He even bears distinct testimony as Son of David, to this his human origin (Matt. 22, 42). In one respect only, does he feel and indicate himself to be distinguished, as man, from other men; in this, namely, that He, the lowly one, never attributes any imperfection to himself. On the contrary, he clearly distinguishes himself from those who

are evil (Luke 11, 33), calls the obedient children of God his kindred (Matt. 12, 50), and presents himself as a Physician in contrast with those who are morally diseased. While he repeatedly forgives sins (Matt. 9, 2) he never confesses them, not even at his baptism by John (Matt. 3, 16). He knows that he is subject to temptation (Matt. 16, 23; 26, 41; comp. Mark 12, 15), but never in his case does this liability result in falling, nor the temptation in sin. God alone he calls good (Matt. 19, 17), but shows that he possesses this character himself by the very fact that he does not appropriate this title of honor.

5. What has been said, thus far, does not exhaust all that was embraced in the consciousness of our Lord in regard to himself. As a true and holy man, he felt himself exalted above every creature in heaven and on earth. Not merely above kings and prophets (Matt. 13, 17) does he place himself, but above the angels (Matt. 13, 41; 26, 54; Mark 13, 32), and speaks always of "his," never, as associated with others, of "our" Father. In the very words he uses, "is come" in speaking of himself (Luke 19, 10) shines forth the consciousness of an earlier existence; still more strongly does the consciousness of divine dignity manifest itself in the forgiving of sins (Matt. 9, 2) and in many other declarations and promises, which on the lips of the most godly man would sound absolutely blasphemous (see e. g. Matt. 10, 32–38; comp. Matt. 22, 37, 38), and most clearly of all in more than one parable (Matt. 21, 37; 22, 2; Luke 19, 12). With this consciousness, he calls himself greater than the temple (Matt. 12, 6), the Wisdom of God (Luke 11, 49), the Lord of David (Matt. 22, 45), ascribes to his word an unending duration (Matt. 24, 35), and promises to his disciples the enjoyment of His presence beyond the region of time and space (Matt. 18, 20; 28, 20). Still he feels himself subordinate to the Father, both in power (Matt. 20, 23; Acts 1, 7) and knowledge (Mark 13, 32). To Him with reverence and gratitude he looks up in prayer and thanksgiving. But the relation itself between Him and the Father is nevertheless so entirely unique, that to the finite understanding it ever remains inexplicable, (Matt. 11, 27; comp. Luke 10, 22). He who thus speaks knows and feels himself to be not merely a child of God morally, but

the Son of God in the supernatural sense of the word, of heavenly nature, and appearing on earth as the Messiah in the fulfillment of God's counsel. Not until the actual utterance of these words by our Lord is arbitrarily disputed or their meaning weakened, can it be maintained with the least plausibility that the Christ of the Synoptical Gospels is nothing according to his own declarations, but an excellent man annointed with the Holy Ghost.

Comp. VAN OOSTERZEE, "*Life of Jesus*" I. bl. 475–477: "*Christology*" II. bl. 40–55, and the literature there given, to which may be added COLANI, "*Jesus Christ and the Messianic beliefs of his time*," Paris, 1864. On the title, Son of Man, VAN DER POT and TIDEMAN in the *Waarh. in Liefde*, 1846 and 1862. On the supernatural character of our Lord, SCHNECKENBURGER "*On the Divinity of Christ according to the Synoptical Gospels*," in the *Stud u. Kritik.*, 1829; JONKER, "*Inquiry into the relation, in which Jesus, according to the three first Gospels, was conscious of standing to God.*" Utrecht, 1864.

Questions for consideration: Survey and criticism of the principal opinions concerning the original significance and design of the name, Son of man (COLANI, HOEKSTRA, etc.).—How far is progress to be observed, in the discourses of our Lord, in regard to his Messianic dignity?—Historical and psychological significance of the conversation at Cesarea Philippi, Matt. 16, 13–17.—Relation of the terms "Messiah" and "Son of God."—Genuineness, meaning and force of the passage Matt. 11, 27; Luke 10, 22.—Why does not our Lord in the Synoptical Gospels make more prominent his supernatural nature and dignity?

§ 12.

The Supreme Ruler.

The dominion, which the Lord possesses in the Kingdom of God is not self-derived, but is received from the Father. This Father he proclaims as the only true God, a personal being and one ever acting, who reveals himself especially through the Son to mankind, and through the Holy Spirit produces every-

thing truly good in men. The purity and elevation of this representation of God proves that he who made it spoke only the truth in the representation of himself.

1. Exalted as our Lord described himself to be, He most deeply felt and fully recognized his dependence. The power He possesses is given (Matt. 28, 18), and the first place in the kingdom of God can no one have except him for whom the Father hath prepared it (Matt. 20, 23). The Father stands thus above the Son (Mark 13, 36), reveals Him in the heart (Matt. 16, 17) and always hears his requests (Matt. 26, 54). On the other hand, the Son desires nothing more earnestly than that the will of the Father be done, (Matt. 26, 39) and reveals this Father, who thus alone becomes known, (Matt. 11, 27). The Lord always assumes that man may be brought, not to a complete, but to a pure and sufficient knowledge of God.

2. Our Lord never gives, in the Synoptical Gospels, a logical or scientific definition of the Divine Being. He silently builds upon the representation of the Old Testament, the correctness of which he thereby recognizes. Least of all does he undertake to prove the existence of God. He sees God in everything and shows him to others in every work of his hands. He assumes his unity (Matt. 4, 10; 19, 17), and at the same time his personal existence, in consequence of which He is exalted, not merely as the Supreme Power, but also as the conscious and independent Will, above the whole creation and above every one of its parts.

3. Although our Lord frequently speaks simply of God, especially in a mixed multitude (Luke 18, 7; comp. Matt. 19, 17), he generally, in addressing his disciples, calls him, Father. In this, and not in the recognition of God's Sovereignty (although recognized in Matt. 11, 25), lies the peculiarity of His teachings respecting God. In calling God, Father, he describes first of all God's special relation to Himself, and next the point of view from which he would have his disciples regard the Supreme Being. That He is the Father of all men, inasmuch as he has created all, Jesus would certainly never have denied, but in this broad sense he never uses the word. He means by it not so much a natural as a moral and spiritual relation, the

direct result of which is communion with God and resemblance to Him. Whatever may be the feelings of God as a Father towards the lost sinner (Luke 15, 11–32, the prodigal son) the name, children of God, is given only to those who in love and purity exhibit the image of the Father (Matt. 5, 9. 45. 48), and who as such are the opposite of the children of the wicked one (Matt. 13, 38).

4. Jesus ascribes to God no other attributes than those attributed to Him in the Old Testament, but while there the holiness of God is made prominent, *love* now takes the first place and is represented as the center of all God's perfections, and as that in which He is proposed to man for imitation (Matt. 5, 48; Luke 6, 36). The three principal forms of love,—Mercy, (Luke 6, 36) Patience, (Luke 18, 7) and Grace, (v. 14) —are all mentioned in the teachings of our Lord. No wonder that such a God is called the perfect source of every good gift (Luke 11, 13).

5. The God of Jesus Christ is neither the God of Deism nor of Pantheism. He never ceases to stand in immediate connection with his creatures. He knows exactly the wants of all, and is able to supply them (Matt. 6, 8; 19, 26), but this knowledge and power stand in the service of a government, which embraces the minutest particulars (Matt. 10, 29, 30; 18, 14). While absolutely unlimited, this government is so perfect, that complained of as it may be, it can never be improved (Matt. 20, 13–15). While the slightest good deed is rewarded (Matt. 10, 41. 42) evil is punished according to the principles of the most exalted rightousness (Luke 12, 47. 48), and the manifestation of this righteous government of the world is also the answer to the persevering prayer of faith (Luke 18, 1–8). Such prayer has not only a sanctifying influence upon him who offers it, but it obtains sure and abundant answers from God, and is the means of relief ordained by Him in all our wants (Luke 11, 5–8), though not necessary to be expressed in a multitude of words (Matt 6, 6–8).

6. If God is thus described as a Father, it is because it has pleased Him to reveal himself as such. This he has done and does even in nature (Matt. 6, 25–34), and in the history of mankind (Matt. 19, 4–6) and of Israel (Matt. 21, 33–44), but above

all in the sending of his Son (v. 37). But this revelation, although designed for all, is believed and received only in a distinct state of mind and heart (Matt. 5, 8; 11, 25; 16, 17). Where this exists men obtain a knowledge of God and his will which is denied to the wise ones of the world (Luke 10, 21).

7. As the Father reveals himself through the Son, he produces what is good in man through the Holy Spirit, a gift which hence is represented as including all good gifts (Matt. 7, 11; Luke 11, 13). Concerning the being and influence of the Holy Spirit our Lord gives but a few intimations. He declares that the Spirit dwells in Him (Matt. 12, 28) but promises him also to his disciples for their support (Matt. 10, 19. 20) and even to all who seek for salvation and pray for his help (Matt. 7, 11), while the sin against the Holy Ghost is alone absolutely beyond forgiveness (Matt. 12, 32). The divine character of the Holy Spirit he clearly enough affirms, in combining the name of the Holy Ghost, in the rite of baptism, with the names of the Son and of the Father (Matt. 28, 19).

8. From all this it is manifest, how infinitely our Lord's teachings concerning the Deity, stand above those of profane and even sacred antiquity. Neither in the writings of the most eminent heathen philosophers, nor of Moses and the prophets, do we find such a representation of God's fatherly love as in the Gospel of the kingdom. In the Old Testament indeed, God is called the Father of the Israelitish people (Deut. 32, 5; Is. 63, 16; Mal. 1, 6); his pity to those who fear him (Ps. 103, 13) and to the unfortunate (Ps. 68, 6) is compared to the love of a father toward his children. But never is this name given to him in his relation to those who are not of Israel; never also was such a breadth and fulness of love ascribed to him as in the utterances of our Lord. The image of fatherly, and especially of forgiving love to those who themselves have been unforgiving, we never find in such purity, outside of his instructions. More magnificent descriptions of God's majesty than those which the Old Testament contain, even He did not give, but deeper, more spiritual and more exalted representations of the nature and feelings of God than his we seek elsewhere in vain. Moreover his teaching is so preëminently practical that we cannot speak of it as a doctrine concerning God, or Theology, but only as a doctrine concerning religion and life.

9. The representation of God given by our Lord is evidence also of the truth of what he declares concerning his own superhuman origin and dignity (see § 11, 5). To the Son alone could it be given to look so deeply into the heart of the Father. Neither the Semitic race, nor the beauty of the scenery about Nazareth (RENAN), nor the instruction of any human school, explains the secret of his representation of God, but solely his own personality. It was not because this man had the deepest religious feeling that God revealed the most in and through Him, but it was because God was in Him as in no one else, that his teachings concerning God could be the most elevated and pure. Here too are enigmas; "it belongs to the humility and the power of science to confess that there are mysteries which it has not fathomed." (TISCHENDORF).

Comp. SCHMID I, 126 ff., REUSS, I, 237 ff.; MEYBOOM, two essays "*On the Jewish and Judaeo-theocratic Theology of Jesus*" in Waarh. in Liefde, 1853, 1854; WITTICHEN. "*The idea of God as the Father, a Contribution to the Biblical Theology especially of the Synoptical Discourses of Jesus.*" Gött. 1865.

Questions for consideration.—Agreement and difference between our Lord's teachings concerning God and those of the Old Testament.—Their superiority to those of Judaism.—How far is the legitimacy of natural theology recognized by Jesus.—In what respects does his doctrine concerning God transcend that of the most distinguished philosophers of antiquity?—May the personality also of the Holy Spirit be shown from the instructions of our Lord in the Synoptical Gospels?—Does his doctrine concerning God have a Unitarian or Trinitarian character?—Criticism of the naturalistic explanations of the origin of this doctrine.

§ 13.

Its Subjects.

As the holy angels are servants, and the spirits of darkness enemies, of the kingdom of heaven, so men likewise are called to become its subjects. What our Lord teaches concerning the nature and constitution of man proves that they are capable of

this; what he declares concerning the sin and misery of mankind clearly shows their need of the salvation of the kingdom of God.

1. Although the kingdom of God is established on earth, it is far from finding its principal servants here. In the prayer given by our Lord to his disciples, Matt. 6, 10, we are taught that he proposes to make this earth like heaven, in men's doing of God's will. He assumes that the angels stand in very distinct relations to this kingdom. He repeatedly describes them, not as momentary personifications of blind natural forces, but as personal beings, immaterial, sinless and immortal (Luke 20, 34–36), who form together a heavenly family, in the presence of whom the Father rejoices over the salvation of the lost (Luke 15, 7. 10). They feel a peculiar interest in the weak and small (Matt. 8, 10), stand at the side of the pious in the hour of death (Luke 16, 22), and are expressly engaged in the service of the Son of man both in his sufferings (Matt. 26, 54) and in the manifestations of his glory (Matt. 13, 41). Exalted as they are, however, in knowledge and holiness (Matt. 24, 36; Luke 9, 26), they stand in no other relation to the kingdom of God than that of reverential servants. That they exercise a personal guardianship over each citizen of this kingdom is not taught in Matt. 18, 10, nor do the words of Jesus justify any superstitious worship of angels. His Angelology embraces no magical elements, like the Old Testament Apocryphal books (the book of Tobit, for example) but is purely religious and ethical.

2. In the same unambiguous way our Lord speaks concerning the evil or fallen spirits. He never teaches an eternal principle of evil, but repeatedly, a personal power, in hostility to the kingdom of God. Not evil, but the Evil One, is the enemy against whom he teaches his disciples to pray (Matt. 6, 12). He calls him Beëlzebub (Matt. 12, 27), Satan (Luke 22, 31), in general the enemy (Luke 10, 19), who sows tares (Matt. 13, 39). He is properly the destroyer (Matt. 10, 28), for whom an eternal destruction is waiting (Matt. 25, 41). In his deadly efforts, however, he is resisted by the intercessory prayer of our Lord (Luke 22, 32), who beholds him, in advance, brought low (Luke 10, 18). But for the present he is the producer of all kinds of

misery, and even of physical suffering (Luke 13, 16), and the cause also of the mysterious disease which is ascribed to demoniacal agency (Matt. 17, 21). There is not a single argument to show that our Lord, in these or similar utterances, accommodated himself, against his own convictions, to the narrow spirit of his time, while there is much in irreconcilable conflict with such a supposition. He regards the casting out of demons as a principal part of his work (Luke 13, 32), which he directly assigns to his disciples (Luke 9, 1; 10, 19), and beholds, on the night before his death, the powers of darkness as if in closed ranks arrayed against him (Luke 22, 53). Nothing but an arbitrary exegesis can understand this in a weaker sense than the connection of the language and the spirit of that age require. Yet an impartial criticism will not regard itself as discharged from the duty of distinguishing between the main thought expressed in such declarations, and the peculiar form in which it is clothed with reference to the mode of thinking among those then living (see especially Luke 11, 24–27).

3. We stand upon firmer ground, when we come to our Lord's answer to the question often asked, "What is man." So much we see at once, that he does not hold man and mankind as of no consequence. Just the opposite appears in his attention to the sports of children (Matt. 11, 16. 17), his vindication of their song of praise (Matt. 21, 15; comp. Ps. 8, 5), his appreciation of the childlike character (Matt. 18, 3. 4). Only once do we read that he was displeased and that was at the turning away of children (Mark 10, 14); and as if in reparation, he promises them his kingdom. It has been erroneously inferred from such expressions (SCHENKEL) that redemption is not necessary for all, since children, as such, are already members of the kingdom of heaven. Then their mothers would have no blessing [for faithfully training them] and our Lord would contradict what he elsewhere affirms (e. g. Matt. 15, 19) concerning the universal depravity of man. Still it is clear that he recognizes in children a receptivity for his kingdom, which is often sought for in vain among adults, and also, that he proceeds upon an ideal of marriage (Matt. 19, 4–6) far higher than that of his contemporaries.

4. Concerning the nature and constitution of man, as related

to the kingdom of God, he gives the most explicit testimony. Man is more than the lilies and the verdure of the field (Matt. 6, 25. 30), than sparrow or sheep (Matt. 10, 29–31; 12, 12), than ox or ass (Luke 14, 5).* Like these he is a creature of God (Matt. 19, 4), but he is far exalted above these, in being called to the kingdom of God (Luke 12, 32) and capacitated to love God and to be conformed to his image (Matt. 5, 48).

Our Lord distinguishes in man between body and soul, flesh and spirit (Matt. 10, 28; 26, 41); it is uncertain whether he distinguishes also between soul and spirit. It is enough that he represents the centre of human personality to be the heart, which may be not only without feeling, but without understanding (Luke 24, 25), and from which proceed all evil thoughts (Matt. 15, 19). The word, *conscience*, never occurs in his teachings, but that he attached to this faculty its full value is clear from his declaration concerning the inner eye of man (Matt. 6, 22. 23). Remarkable in this connection is the parable of the field, which of itself (αὐτομάτη) bringeth forth fruit from the seed, because it is soil and not rock (Mark 4, 28). There is thus receptivity for the divine in man, and this becomes spontaneity wherever, in the use of appropriate means, everything which hinders the working of the Gospel is taken away from the heart. On this ground our Lord calls men to think (Matt. 11, 15; 13, 14), and to take heed what and how they hear (Mark 4, 24; Luke 8, 18). He appeals to their natural reason and sensibilities (Matt. 21, 31; Luke 11, 5–8), and exhorts them to judge justly (Luke 12, 56. 57). Yet he places the disposition in man above intellect (Matt. 5, 3. 8) and speaks therefore, with emphasis, of a good treasure of the heart, out of which the good must proceed (Luke 6, 45). The internal worth of a man depends not upon what he knows, but upon what he wills. Moreover he has the tremendous power of choosing between life and death (Matt. 7, 13. 14), and with this freedom with which he is endowed is connected a fearful responsibility (Matt. 23, 37). In a word, man is created for something higher than this world. His soul may become debased, but never extinguished (Luke 12, 4. 5; 16, 19–27), and Sadduceeism is therefore a monstrous error (Matt. 22, 29). The losing of life leads to the saving of it in the high-

* Comp. Tischendorf.

est sense of the word (Matt. 10, 39; 16, 25), and in their personal communion with the ever living God the pledge is given to the pious of their everlasting existence (Matt. 22, 30; Luke 20, 38).

5. As, on the one hand, this high rank makes man capable of the salvation of the kingdom of God, so, on the other, he has the greatest *need* of it. He is a sinner before God and miserable in his own sight. To maintain that the Synoptical Christ presents a doctrine of sin inferior in depth to that of some of the Apostles is to take a very superficial view of his declarations on this point. Paul presents sin in the light of his own experience; Christ in that of the law and of his own spotless perfection.

6. The absolute universality of sin is assumed by our Lord rather than expressly taught. He distinguishes, indeed, between the moral states of men (Matt. 5, 45; Luke 8, 4–15), but there is no proof that he regards any man as sinless. The honest and good heart (Luke 8, 15) is not one which is absolutely pure, but simply upright and well disposed, and hence ready to receive the seed of the Word. He addresses his contemporaries as those who are evil in contrast with the holy Father (Luke 11, 13) and regards them as sick and needing a physician (Matt. 9, 13). The well, whom he contrasts with them, are in his view no more entitled to this name absolutely, than are the ninety and nine just persons (Luke 15, 7) who need no repentance, to be regarded as perfectly righteous. Even his sincere disciples must constantly pray for forgiveness (Matt. 6, 12), and in contrast with the prodigal son in the parable, he exhibits one not perfectly obedient, but unloving, whose self-righteousness is still more repulsive than the unrighteousness of the other. No man is unconditionally good (Matt. 19, 17); hence it is required of all, without exception, that they be converted (Mark 1, 15).

7. The origin of sin is, psychologically, to be sought in the heart (Matt. 15, 19), or more definitely in the weakness of the flesh, which, hence, even for the disciples of the Lord, has a dangerous side (Matt. 26, 41). Beyond this, it is to be traced to the devil, the crafty worker of evil (Matt. 13, 39), who is ever seeking to lead men to ruin (Luke 22, 31). Every one stands exposed to temptation, and unless he watch and pray must fall into his snares. Temptation (πειρασμός) and offence

(σκάνδαλον) are, according to this, correlative terms, and signify whatever leads men to sinful deeds and makes them, in their obstinate persistence in wrong doing, children of the devil (Matt. 13, 38).

8. The nature of sin is never expressly defined by Jesus. The word ἁμαρτία always signifies in the Synoptical Gospels the sinful action, never the sinful principle. That our Lord, however, recognizes the existence of the latter, in all its strength, is plain from Matt. 15, 19; comp. 5, 28. The conduct in which it manifests itself is in its nature unrighteousness, lawlessness (ἀνομία, Matt. 7, 23; 13, 41; comp. 1 John 3, 4), while its different forms bear the name of transgressions (παραπτώματα). Our Lord describes in a striking way the progress of the sinful principle, in the parable of the prodigal son:—first, inwardly estranged from his father; next, outwardly separated from him, and led on by a false independence from one sin to another, and plunged, in consequence, into the deepest misery.

9. That sin makes man miserable, lies in the nature of the case. Under its control he becomes in character a sinner (ἁμαρτωλός), who, as such, stands no higher than the despised publican. The unity of his inner life is lost in a sad discord (Matt. 6, 24), and even his life itself is another name for death (Luke 15, 24; comp. 9, 60). In this state the sinner, left to himself, sinks into ever deeper misery. He incurs a blindness, which may be pleaded in the way of excuse (Luke 23, 34), but which, nevertheless, is in itself punishable. It leads to hardness of heart in spite of the most earnest warnings (Luke 8, 8; 18, 10), and this reaches its extreme point in the obstinate enmity directed even against known truth, which Christ describes as the only sin which is never forgiven (Matt. 12, 31, 32).

10. No wonder, therefore, that sin is threatened with a punishment all the more terrible in proportion to the privileges of the transgressor (Matt. 11, 20. 24; Luke 12, 47. 48). For sin necessarily involves indebtedness, the payment of which on the ground of law can be justly demanded, but which is so entirely impossible for the guilty, that nothing is left to him except to beg for forgiveness (Matt. 18, 28; Luke 7, 41; 12, 59; 18, 13). Hence forgiveness is to be regarded as essentially a gracious acquittal from deserved pun-

ishment, and where it is not bestowed, the transgressor has every thing to fear. Under different forms of illustration, our Lord sets forth the retributions of eternity (Mark 9, 43–50), which, with all their variety, will be invariably righteous (Luke 16, 19–25). But never does he furnish distinct ground for expectation that these punishments will at some future time come to an end. The mention of the deep gulf (Luke 16, 26), and the closed door (Matt. 25, 10) justifies the fear of the contrary; and even if Matt. 12, 32 be interpreted as teaching the forgiveness of some sins in the future world—which cannot be done without reasonable doubt—the terrible judgment upon at least one sin remains, in any case, in its full force.

11. Thus the sinner is in himself irretrievably lost (Luke 19, 10), and yet not absolutely past recovery (Matt. 19, 25, 26). The lost penny may be found, the wandering sheep be brought back, but—never through his own strength. The need of redemption, so absolutely undeniable in itself, must be understood and felt by the sinner (Luke 18, 14). The self-righteousness which denies it, renders the man so much the more reprobate, and hypocrisy is just the sin against which alone the meek and gentle Jesus is inexorable.

Comp. on Demonology, Van Oosterzee, "*Life of Jesus*" II, 140 sqq. and the literature there cited: on the sin against the Holy Ghost, *ib.* II. 330 sqq.: on the Anthropology and Hamartology of our Lord in general, Reuss I, 195 sqq. Schmid I, 230 sqq.

Questions for Consideration.—The traces of Demonology in Judaism.—Are the declarations of Jesus concerning the kingdom and the power of darkness the result of accommodation, of personal error, or of practical knowledge of a mysterious reality?—In what respect does the Anthropology of Jesus stand above that of Moses and the prophets?—How far may his estimation of childhood be reconciled with the idea of universal depravity?—What does Luke 15, 11–16 teach concerning the history of the progress of sin?—Do the teachings of our Lord in the Synoptical Gospels contain the least trace of the doctrine of ἀποκατάστασις?—May his declaration in regard to the sin against the Holy Ghost be illustrated from other passages of the Scriptures?

§ 14.

Salvation.

The salvation springing from the Kingdom of God, although a preparation was made for it in the Old Testament dispensation, to which our Lord stands in a very distinct relation, is yet, through him alone revealed and manifested. It consists in the personal enjoyment of temporal and spiritual blessings, begun here and made complete in the future. The appearance on earth, the life and labors, the atoning death, and the heavenly glory of Jesus Christ have together the distinct aim to offer this salvation to all.

1. In order to bring the reign of sin and misery to an end forever, Christ has appeared with the Gospel of the kingdom (Mark 1, 15). But although he announces the gospel as something relatively new, he is far from presenting even this newness as entirely independent. We have already had occasion to observe the contrary (§ 2, 7); and here is the place to consider the relation to the Old Testament, and especially to Mosaism and Prophetism, of our Lord's word and work as described by himself.

2. The Sacred Scriptures of Israel constitute, in his view, a collection of priceless value. He constantly and exclusively appeals to the declarations of the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms, and gives unequivocal testimony to the entire Canon of the Old Testament (Matt. 23, 35; Luke 24, 44). "It is written," is the rule for his own faith and conduct, and the Book of Deuteronomy thrice furnishes him with a weapon against the kingdom of darkness (Matt. 4, 4–10). He also teaches that the same rule is binding upon his contemporaries (Luke 10, 26; 16, 29–31; Matt. 19, 8), and regards it as not even to be thought of that the Scripture should not be fulfilled (Matt. 26, 54; Luke 22, 37). The Scriptures have also a teleological significance (Luke 16, 16), and his own relation to them is expressed in the sentence (Matt. 5, 17) "not to destroy, but to fulfill."

3. It is not difficult to define the relation in which our Lord places himself to the prophetic portion of the Scriptures. The entire Old Dispensation he regards as one connected preparation for his coming (Matt. 21, 33–37), but in the words of the prophets, especially, he finds direct predictions of his person and work (Luke 4, 18. 19; 18, 31), and also concerning his forerunner (Mark 9, 13), and in passages even, where we, without his explanation, should not have recognized them (e. g. Matt. 21, 42). He plainly interprets the prophetic word from the typico-symbolical point of view, and desires his disciples to do the same (Luke 24, 25–27).

4. It is not so easy to define the position which our Lord takes in relation to the Law. It is obvious that he feels himself inwardly elevated above its letter, and of his own free choice becomes subject to its various prescriptions (Matt. 12, 6; 17, 27). That necessity also may break the law, he by no means overlooks (Mark 2, 21–28). Least of all does he pay deference to human tradition, which he emphatically distinguishes from the requirements of the divine law (Matt. 15, 9). These he regards as binding upon himself and his disciples; still he never shows that he attaches less importance to the ceremonial than to the moral part of the law of Moses. (See Luke 2, 41–43; Mark 1, 41; Matt. 26, 18). In no case can it be shown that he allowed himself or his disciples to transgress the original prescriptions of the law. In the great antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5, 21–44) he opposes indeed the later additions to the Law, but never its original requirements. He emphatically reproves the neglect of the "weightier matters" of the law, but enjoins also the observance of the least (Matt. 23, 23). From those among his contemporaries who inwardly stand upon the foundation of law, he constantly requires obedience to it (Matt. 19, 18; comp. also the addition in Luke 6, 5, found in Cod. D.: see Tischendorf), commands the multitude to do whatever the Scribes bid them observe (Matt. 23, 3), and expects that his disciples, for the immediate future at least, will regard the law of the Sabbath (Matt. 24, 20). Thus he confirms towards the end of his public life, what he said at the beginning (Matt. 5, 18) of the permanent authority of the Law.

On the other hand, it is clear that Jesus regards the perma-

nent union of the old and new as partly impossible and partly pernicious (Matt. 9, 15–17). He foresaw and predicted a time, in which the old form would be destroyed by the new spirit infused by Himself. In his assured knowledge that city and temple were to fall, he could not have expected that, after that period, the Israelitish worship would be maintained, much less that the letter of the Mosaic law would maintain an abiding authority. Yet with profound wisdom he left the letter untouched, so long as the spirit, living in Himself, had not yet passed into his disciples, and in the full consciousness that a new covenant was to be instituted by Him (Matt. 26, 28), he anticipates the highest blessing of the ancient covenant promise (Jer. 31, 31–34). Thus were blended, in a higher unity, in the consciousness of our Lord, the fulfillment of the Law, and the abrogation of its letter. Both the Law and Prophets were merely to announce and prepare the salvation which he came to present.

5. The nature of the salvation, assured in Him to the subjects of this kingdom is by no means exclusively spiritual. The meek are to inherit the earth, the faithful servant to have extended authority and reward (Matt. 5, 6; 19, 28; 25, 21). But this outward salvation comes only when the inward is gained, the obtaining of which is our principal work on earth. Both negatively and positively, it is exhibited by our Lord in the most glorious colors. They who inherit the kingdom of God, are delivered thereby from all the miseries which flow from being lost; they are forever kept (Luke 19, 10); they have the forgiveness of sins (Luke 7, 50; 18, 14), and in consequence a rest sought elsewhere in vain (Matt. 11, 28). The enjoyment is depicted according to the different conditions of those for whom it is provided. To the blind it is sight, to the prisoner freedom, to mourners comfort, to the hungry, plenty, to the oppressed a rich reward for whatever is suffered here for the sake of Christ. Still, it is not to be denied that the central point of the salvation made known by Christ in the Synoptical Gospels is not the present, but the future life. His eye, like that of his contemporaries, is fastened principally upon eternal life, and that life is conceived of as a life beyond the grave. It will be given, at

the coming of the Lord in his glory, to those who observe the prescribed conditions, and will bring the misery of earth forever to an end; while the redeemed under the New Covenant will be made sharers in the glory already possessed by the patriarchs of the Old Dispensation (Matt. 8, 11. 12).

6. The question remains, what our Lord, according to his own teachings, has done, is doing, and will do to give this priceless salvation to men. His coming into a world which is not his home, has for its end to receive a kingdom and to seek the lost (Luke 19, 10. 12). For this he went forth (Mark 1, 38), especially after the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. 15, 24), and the whole of his public ministry is consecrated to the same great aim. As a sower he passes over the field (Matt. 13, 3), and styles himself the Teacher of his disciples (Matt. 23, 8; 26, 55). Even his miracles were wrought to show that the kingdom was near (Matt. 12, 28), and to make Himself known as the Christ (Matt. 11, 4. 5). Yet He did not approve of the seeking for miracles, regarded false miracles as possible, and forbade the premature report of those which He performed (Matt. 8, 4; 16, 1–4; 24, 24). On the other hand, He recalls his own miracles to the recollection of his disciples (Mark 8, 19–21), and declares the rejection of a message supported by such evidence absolutely inexcusable (Matt 11, 20–24)—a proof that the working of miracles, in his estimation, was not such a subordinate part of his earthly work as unbelief has since maintained.

7. It is, however, his suffering and death that he brings into special and direct relation with the communication of salvation. It will not be denied on the ground of purely historical criticism that our Lord foretold this suffering and death. It is true that, according to the unanimous accounts of the Synoptical writers, there was a period in his life (Matt. 16, 21–23), in which these references became more distinct and prominent; but even before this, there were not wanting figurative, but nevertheless explicit, intimations (Matt. 9, 15; 16, 24. 25). They became constantly more clear, the nearer the earthly life of Jesus approached its close (Luke 12, 49; 13, 33; comp. Matt. 17, 22. 23; 20, 18. 19), and issued finally in the distinct announcement of the time and mode of his death (Matt.

26, 2), united somewhat early (Matt. 16, 21) with that of his resurrection. That the disciples absolutely failed to comprehend this (Mark 9, 9. 10) renders their subsequent forgetfulness of it more intelligible. At the same time, this statement in Mark shows that the prediction itself was not one subsequently fabricated *ex eventu.*

The point of view from which our Lord regards this suffering and death is, from beginning to end, the same. It belongs to the things of God (Matt. 16, 23); he must be put to death, in order that the Scripture may be fulfilled (Luke 22, 37). There is no more reason for thinking here of a mere moral necessity (Hofstede de Groot) than for supposing from the parable of the ungrateful husbandmen (Matt. 21, 37) that God really expected that they would reverence his Son (Van Oordt). The end, for which this death was so absolutely necessary, is, in more than one way, expressly stated. If he came to serve (Matt. 20, 28; Mark 9, 45), this service reaches its culmination in the voluntary giving of his soul as a ransom for many. Not here and there one, but many, are thereby redeemed from the ruin which otherwise had befallen them. His blood is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins (Matt. 26, 28), that is, in order that their sins might be forgiven. Although Matthew alone records these words, there is the less reason to regard this idea as unhistorical (Baur), because, even aside from this passage, the idea it contains is in substance already expressed in the announcement of the blood of the new covenant (comp. Ex. 24, 8). That our Lord regarded his death as a sin-offering appears also from Luke 22, 37 compared with the general import of the 53d chapter of Isaiah, which here distinctly stands before his mind: comp. also Luke 23, 31. The question repeatedly put in connection with these passages (Baur), "whether more was not subsequently put into them than they originally contained," may be expected from a certain well known school, but then it raises the suspicion of a foregone conclusion. It is certain at least that nothing can be found in the words of Jesus which conflicts with his own declarations respecting the end and result of his death. That in Matt. 9, 2; 18, 35 the forgiveness of sin is spoken of without reference to his death, is perfectly comprehensible at that period and in that connection. It may also

be admitted that the parable of the prodigal son contains a pure and glorious truth, and yet not the *full* truth in respect to the atonement, which could not be fully revealed until at a later period. In a word we must not forget that Jesus for wise reasons spoke but little, comparatively, in regard to his death.

8. It is, however, far from true that the ministry of our Lord in preparing salvation for the world, terminated, according to his own declarations, with his death. His heavenly glory, on the contrary, stands directly connected with his humiliation and with the execution of his plan (Luke 24, 26). Hence he calls himself king (Matt. 25, 40) and does not cease after his departure to stand in a personal relation to his followers (Matt. 18, 20; 28, 20). That by this something more than simply moral power must be understood, appears from his declaration that it is given to him also in heaven (Matt. 28, 18). This power he exhibits in a constantly increasing measure, and this manifestation is styled his glorious coming. It began during his life on earth (Matt. 16, 23), was continued previous to the death of some of the Apostles, before their eyes and those of their enemies, especially at the destruction of Jerusalem (Matt. 16, 28; 26, 63. 64), and will be seen in the fullest sense at the consummation of the ages, the signs of which will agree with those of the destruction of Jerusalem (Matt., chap. 24–25). It is like the stone thrown into the water which describes ever widening circles, the last of which loses itself in boundless space.

On the relation of our Lord to the Old Testament in general, and the Mosaic Law in particular, comp. Lechler, "*The Old Test. in the discourses of Jesus*," Stud. u. Krit. 1854.—Meyer, "*On the relation of Jesus and his disciples to the Mosaic law.*"—Van Ronkel, *Specimen J. C. doctrinam exhibens de V. T. libris.* Traj. 1860.—Van Hasselt, "*The relation of Jesus to the Mosaic law, according to the Synoptical Gospels.*" Gron. 1863. (The result, however, to which the last named writer comes, that "Jesus criticised the law upon the higher principle that whatever was cognizable to Him in his conscience was the will of God," rests evidently upon an incorrect antithesis between the conscience of the individual as the higher, and the (revealed!) will of God as a lower authority). Comp. Kauf-

FER, *de bibl. ζωῆς αἰώνιου notione*, Dresd. 1838; RIET, "*The doctrine of Jesus concerning eternal life, according to the four Gospels.*" Utrecht, 1864. On our Lord's predictions of his sufferings, and the reasons why he spoke comparatively little concerning his death, VINKE, in the publications of the Society at the Hague, 1835; HASERT, "*On the predictions of Jesus concerning his death and resurrection*," Berlin, 1839; RITZSCHL, "*The teachings of the New Testament concerning the saving power of the death of Jesus*," in the Jahrb. für deutsche Theol. 1863. On the whole subject of this section, see VAN OOSTERZEE, "*Life of Jesus*," REUSS, and SCHMID.

Questions for consideration.—How far does our Lord place himself in the same line with the men of God in the Old Testament, and how far above them?—Is there any purely critical ground for the supposition that his predictions concerning his death and resurrection were modified *ex eventu?*—May it be assumed that he said more concerning it than the Gospels relate?—Is it possible for all his declarations concerning his "coming," to be understood in the same sense?

§ 15.

The Way of Salvation.

Although all are called to the kingdom of God and the salvation it offers, the sinner actually obtains salvation only in the exercise of repentance, faith, and by a renewing of the heart, which manifests itself in the whole direction of the life. All who comply with this condition constitute together a spiritual community, which, in consequence of its nature and especially its character and tendency, stands high above every other and is destined to spread and to continue to the end of the world.

1. Since the kingdom of God was originally destined for all (§ 10, 2), all, according to the teaching of our Lord, must be invited to it. His own personal ministry, indeed, was confined to Israel (Matt. 15, 24), and his gospel was first brought to that

nation (Luke 24, 47), yet He early foresaw, willed and furthered the falling of the wall of separation. The universal character of Christianity was not first taught by Paul (the Tübingen School) but by Jesus himself, as we see Him described in the Synoptical Gospels. The more Israel turned away, the more emphatically does He urge the calling of the Gentiles (Luke 14, 16–24). Many are already called and all must be; all bear this name (the called) to whom the invitation of the kingdom of God comes, whether they accept it or not. Those who accept it, incalculably fewer in number, bear the name of "the chosen" (Matt. 22, 14). God himself has brought them to the enjoyment of this privilege (Matt. 11, 25. 26; 16, 17), the loss of which, on the other hand, after the exhibition of his love in seeking them, can be ascribed only to themselves, and is their own fault.

2. Such a chosen heir of salvation, however, a man does not become, except by experiencing a great change, which our Lord represents as necessary for all, his disciples not excepted (Matt. 18, 3). Like his forerunner, John the Baptist (Luke 3, 8), he regards external descent from Abraham as not sufficient to constitute a citizen of the kingdom of God. He requires a genuine change of mind (*μετάνοια*) attended by external turning (*ἐπιστροφή*) to the way of life (Luke 17, 4). But while the preaching of John urged principally an externally moral life (Luke 3, 10–14), Jesus directed attention chiefly to the inner state. The first step in conversion He points out with the most striking clearness, in the parable of the prodigal son, who begins to come to himself. (Luke 15, 17). In opposition to the Pharisaic principle—from without, inward—that of Jesus is, from within, outward (Luke 11, 39–41). With Him, the state of the heart is not simply much, but everything (Matt. 12, 33–35). It is only as this is secured, that in his estimation, external restitution, in a case of wrong-doing, has any significance (Luke 19, 8. 9). So much importance does he attach to conversion, that he requires it to be always preached in immediate connection with the promise of the forgiveness of sins (Luke 24, 47), because while it is never the procuring or meritorious cause of the latter, it is nevertheless its indispensable condition.

3. With equal emphasis our Lord requires faith (*πίστις*),

which is most intimately connected with conversion. He means by it, not merely an intellectual assent, but a trusting acceptance of what upon good grounds must be regarded as the truth. He speaks of believing John the Baptist (*αὐτῷ*, Matt. 21, 32), but of faith *in* Himself (*εἰς ἐμέ*, Matt. 18, 6; Mark 9, 42), which expresses a more intimate relation. The object of the faith He requires is in general the Gospel (Mark 1, 15), or more comprehensively all which the prophets have spoken (Luke 24, 25), and in the highest sense, God (Mark 11, 22). But, regarding Himself as the centre of the gospel, he requires faith not merely in his word, but also in his own person (Matt. 18, 6). On this faith he makes not only the exhibition of his miraculous power, (Matt. 9, 29) but citizenship in the kingdom of God, to depend (Mark 16, 16). It is, in his estimation, the supreme quality in the moral life of man; the only thing, of which we read that its strength or its absence led our Lord to marvel (Mark 6, 5; Luke 7, 10). No wonder that the greatest promises are made to it here (Matt. 17, 20), and that He desires above all to find it on the earth at his future coming (Luke 18, 8).

4. As this faith constitutes a coming to Christ (Matt. 11, 28), so it manifests itself in the following him. This following is impossible, however, without absolute self-denial, and if this self-denial is to mean anything, it must be voluntary and daily, and be habitually renewed and prosecuted (Luke 9, 23). This requirement, in its form peculiar and original, aims at nothing less than the slaying of all within us that hinders our entire consecration to the work of the Lord, even though it involve the most painful sacrifices (Mark 9, 43–50; Luke 14, 26. 27). Hence our Lord requires, before a man becomes his disciple, thoughtful and serious consideration, (Luke 14, 28–31), but after he has once taken the decisive step, He demands a consecration and steadfast loyalty, which shall be ready to dare and endure anything in order to win the great reward (Matt. 19, 29. 30; 24, 13).

5. Whoever thus comes first *to*, and then *after* Christ, henceforth follows an entirely different way from that in which he formerly went. In general, the duty of working is laid upon the subjects of the kingdom of God: they are called into the service of the Lord, not for rest, but to work and win (Matt. 7,

21; 21, 28; 25, 14). In this labor their watchword must be conscientious fidelity, united with constant watchfulness for the coming of the Lord, the time of which is unknown (Luke 12, 35–46). In close connection with this they are strictly charged to be persevering in prayer (Matt. 26, 41; Luke 18, 1–8) and to cultivate a holy carefulness, which a proper freedom from anxiety, also, (Matt. 6, 25–34) renders possible and easy. But the disposition of the children of the kingdom must especially appear in their relation to each other and to all men. While they are to be at peace with each other, as far as possible (Mark 9, 50) and even to seek their true greatness in the helpfulness of ministering love (Matt. 20, 25–28), they are called to exhibit love to all (Luke 10, 25–37) and even to enemies (Matt. 5, 44) and to show that in this respect they are governed by another spirit than that of the world or even the Old Testament (Luke 9, 55). It is only thus that they approach the moral perfection, which is to be the end for which they strive (Matt. 5, 48).

6. It is impossible that they who are governed by such a disposition, should permanently remain isolated. They constitute a spiritual community, of which it cannot for a moment be doubted that in spirit it is wholly of the Lord. It is true that He does not expressly say that he will have a church, in the sense which has since been given to that word. The word itself (ἐκκλησία) occurs but twice in the Synoptical Gospels (Matt. 16, 18; 18, 17). In the latter passage it seems merely to signify in general the union of his disciples (*convocata societas*, Heb. *qahal*, also used of the synagogue) and without questioning the historical basis of the former (Reuss), it yet is evident that our Lord had here an ideal in his mind, which was to be realized only in the future. But while thus wisely leaving to the Spirit, which should afterwards guide his disciples, to mould the form under which they and all believers were to be united, the mutual fellowship of his subjects manifestly lies upon the heart of their King as a matter of great importance. It was certainly his purpose to prepare the highest salvation not merely for a greater or less number, but for all his disciples. This is manifest from the parable of the feast with many guests, the vineyard with different laborers, the household with various servants. Accordingly he

does not train his disciples simply as individuals, but unites them together in a small community. He prescribes also the immutable principles on which they must ever be united. No fasts are to be made obligatory upon them (Matt. 9, 14. 15), oaths must be superfluous (Matt. 5, 33–37), united prayer is an important duty (Acts 18, 18–20), and the mutual oversight of love in behalf of those in error, a part of their calling (vs. 15–17). Self-exaltation is steadily forbidden, together with strife for prœminence (Matt. 23, 8–12), and an untiring spirit of forgiveness (Matt. 18, 23–35) is required to be united with the utmost carefulness in judging of others (Matt. 7, 1–6).

7. With a view to the constant union of his disciples, our Lord established two sacred ordinances, of great significance for his kingdom. Through the ever renewed announcement of his death, in the Lord's supper, he seeks to bind his disciples to Himself and to each other. Through baptism he designs to separate all believers from the Jewish and Heathen world, and unite them in the confession of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost (Matt. 28, 19; Mark 16, 16). If it is true, as Strauss maintains, that the most recent criticism of the gospels is "pretty well agreed" that the formula of baptism did not exist till the latest edition of the first Gospel, then the said criticism must make haste to review such an inconsiderate conclusion. There is no more reason to question the historical character of the formula of baptism, than that of the Lord's supper, and no one, not influenced by dogmatic prepossessions, would ever think of doing it.

8. The Church, thus set apart and united by the will of the Lord, is to spread and to continue to the end. We have already seen the fundamental law of this increasing growth (§ 10, 2); it can here be only observed, that it is to take place, in accordance with the design of Jesus, through exclusively spiritual agencies, and especially through the preaching of the gospel (Matt. 24, 14). The triumph of his kingdom and the perpetuity of his Church, notwithstanding the most violent opposition (Matt. 10, 34–36; Luke 12, 49–51) our Lord announces not as merely possible or probable, but as absolutely certain. The ground of this certainty lies in the solid foundation on which the rising divine edifice rests (Matt. 16, 18), and the

pledge given in the abiding nearness of the Saviour (Matt. 28, 20), who has departed to remain, but also—to come again.

Comp. Reuss I. 192, Schmid 1. 299 ff; Matthaei, *Jesu Christi doctrina de jure jurando*, Hal. 1847. On faith, Köstlin, "*Faith, its nature, ground, and object*," Gotha, 1859. On the Christian Church, Kist, in the publication of the Teyler Theological Society, Deel xxx. On the Synoptical Account of the institution of the Lord's supper, Doedes, "*The doctrine of the Lord's supper.*" Utrecht, 1847.

Questions for consideration.—Is the idea of κλῆσις as used by Christ in the Synoptical Gospels, exactly the same as when used by Paul?—What may be learned from Luke 15, 17 sqq. in respect to the proper nature of μετάνοια?—Difference and higher unity of the object of faith.—The peculiar exhibition of self-denial in Luke 9, 23.—The relation of the subjects of the kingdom of God to each other and to civil society.—How far may Christ, according to his own declarations, be regarded as the founder of the Christian Church?—Comparison of baptism, as instituted by our Lord, with the baptism of John.—Form and signification of the institution of the Lord's supper.

§ 16.

The Consummation.

The salvation of the subjects of the kingdom of God does not cease at their death, but reaches its entire completion only at the coming of the Lord, by which the glory of the King will be revealed, and the tried fidelity of his subjects be crowned with the full reward of grace. That future will be ushered in by impressive tokens, accompanied with amazing changes external and moral, and followed by the decisive separation between the good and the bad, which will constitute an irrevocable close of the present dispensation.

1. Certain as it is that the sincere subjects of the kingdom of God are here indescribably blessed (Matt. 5, 3–10; Luke 10,

23. 24), it yet cannot be denied that this blessedness is continually disturbed or obstructed. The entrance costs effort, the pursuit demands sacrifices (Matt. 13, 24; 14, 26). Hence we look beyond the grave, and a very essential need would be unsupplied, if our Lord had left the question, concerning the consummation of the kingdom of God, unanswered.

2. Although man as such is immortal (Matt. 10, 28), yet beyond this, the pious are raised after death to a state of the highest blessedness. If, in a single instance, our Lord compares death to sleep (Luke 8, 52), this is no proof that he conceives of a sleep of the soul, properly so called. On the contrary he represents the Old Testament saints as living unto God in the fullest sense of the word (Luke 20, 38; comp. Matt. 8, 11), and teaches not only that personal existence, but also self-consciousness and memory survive the death of the body (Luke 16, 19–31). The state of the departed (ἅδης, Heb. *sheol*) is according to Him no abode of unbroken silence and absolutely the same for all (Job 3, 17–19), but the scene of a terrible contrast, which takes place immediately after death. While the wicked are cast into hell (Gehenna), the pious are at once carried to Abraham's bosom, comforted and made blessed. The same local conception lies at the foundation of the mention of everlasting habitations (Luke 16, 9), into which those who have gone before, receive their friends who have been faithful in well-doing, and of the Paradise (Luke 23, 43), promised to the thief on the cross. Both must indicate the state of the departed and be regarded as the description of a blessedness, commencing immediately after death, but not made complete until the coming of the Lord.

The idea of the coming of the Lord (παρουσία) is so unequivocally and emphatically expressed in his discourses recorded in the Synoptical Gospels, that the attempt to strike out all his declarations concerning it, as spurious, by a single stroke of the pen (Colani) is not merely to the last degree arbitrary, but must be called well nigh desperate. The universal expectation of the Apostolic age on this point is perfectly incomprehensible, if there was not the least ground for it in his own declarations. It is equally incredible that the eschatological discourses of our Lord were considerably modified and em-

bellished in consequence of the destruction of Jerusalem; for it was only *before* that event that the downfall of the Jewish State and the end of the world could have been so closely connected as is there done. And it must be regarded as extremely venturesome to maintain that Jesus, so far as he actually uttered these discourses, was simply mistaken in regard to future events. The end has not yet come; and we must seriously question whether our Lord, if he had seen in the expectations of his disciples only the fruit of national prejudice, would have spoken at such length and so emphatically on this point. Exegetical investigation must decide how far and why he brings the end of the world into connection with the destruction of Jerusalem. So much, however, is certain,—that he promises, in the most emphatic manner, that, after his coming in a humble form on earth, he will again appear for the revelation of his glory, which will bring the present order of things to an end.

3. This coming will be unexpected (Luke 12, 39. 40), but not without preparation. It will be announced by tokens partly of a terrifying and partly of a joyful nature. To the latter belongs the universal proclamation of the gospel; to the former the appearing of false Messiahs and the delusions connected therewith, war and pestilence, famine and earthquakes, oppression, discord and moral decay (Matt. 24, 4–14)—in a word, the birth-pangs of the Messianic age, which the contemporaries of our Lord also looked for.

4. Next follows the appearing of the Son of Man himself, announced by his sign in heaven (Matt. 24, 30) and accompanied by terrrible phenomena in the natural and moral world (v. 29). The powers of heaven will be moved, the form of this world be changed. We are no more authorized to understand the words of our Lord, respecting this great event, in a literal sense, than to deny their truth in the name of the results of a so-called modern philosophy. The form of representation evidently approximates that of the old prophets: but the great thought is that the natural world and the race of man are to share in the revelation of the glorious future.

5. Along with this great and decisive close, and not before, is the resurrection of the dead to be expected, concerning

which our Lord in the Synoptical Gospels speaks but little and only in passing; yet He represents it as a collective event, and one which decides the everlasting destiny of all. His conversation with the Sadducees (Matt. 22, 23–33) has been understood, indeed, as promising an individual resurrection immediately after death. But as this, in view of the ideas of that age, is less probable in itself, so it appears from a careful examination of Luke 20, 33–38 (comp. Mark 12, 23) that He represents the resurrection as belonging to a period yet in the future, which will be coincident with the end of the world; and still further He speaks of the resurrection of the righteous as an event to occur at one and the same time. Accordingly his declarations in regard to the condition of the saved, that they are like the angels (Matt. 22, 30), must be understood as distinctly referring to their complete blessedness after the consummation of all things. The wish to find an idea expressed by our Lord which may be more acceptable to ourselves, must not be allowed to lead us away from the original meaning of his words or to pervert the obvious import of his prophetic teaching.

6. At the same time with the (second) coming of the Lord the Messianic judgment is to be expected, concerning which He speaks much more, in the Synoptical Gospels, than of the resurrection. He never represents himself as being only a witness of the spectacle and still less as belonging to those summoned to appear, but always as the future Judge, from whose decision, once pronounced, no appeal to a higher tribunal can be imagined. As such He will appear in heavenly majesty, summon all the generations of men, pronounce sentence according to the measure of love springing from faith, and adjudge to each a weal or woe which will never end (Matt. 25, 31–46). The angels will be employed in preparing and executing his sentence, especially upon his enemies (Matt. 13, 39–42). When this is done, the Regeneration, i. e., the entire renewal of the natural and spiritual creation, will have been accomplished (Matt. 19, 28).

7. Here is the place to speak in general of the reward to be given by our Lord to his faithful servants. The effort has been made by turns, either to banish every idea of reward from

his words, or else to forge from his declarations a weapon against the purity of his ethical teachings, but in both cases with no solid foundation. Without justifying or exciting the greed for reward, our Lord yet promises to those who have labored or made sacrifices for Him (Matt. 19, 29,–20, 16) a real reward, that is, a proportionate recompense. This reward will be regulated in accordance with righteous principles, though not such as prevail among men, and the prospect of it may serve for encouragement in the labor of love (Matt. 10, 40–42). But the reward which crowns the work is not at all of merit. On the contrary our Lord, while teaching that no good thing is done in vain, declares with equal emphasis that the reward is wholly of grace; in other words, that the laborer is never entitled to demand any special reward. Luke 17, 7–10 is on this point stronger than any other passage. In a single word, the doctrine of reward is here announced, not from a legal, but from an evangelical point of view; the question is answered, not so much what is really deserved as what is graciously presented. The impelling principle of obedience may be simply love and duty, but the reward is held up to view in order to sustain His disciples under the many things which oppress them (Matt. 5, 11. 12).

8. After what has been said, it is not difficult to show in what, according to the unvarying teaching of our Lord in the Synoptical Gospels, the future reward is properly to consist. First, the faithful servant will receive honor which will compensate him for all earthly shame and strife. He will be served by the Lord himself, crowned with the highest praise and exalted to the rank for which he is capacitated. Next, he will enjoy a blessedness which is depicted under the most impressive images, and will be full and immortal. Finally, he will be called to a work which will give him new opportunities to become an ornament and blessing to the kingdom of God, then made triumphant and complete (Luke 12, 36. 37; 19, 15–19; comp. Matt. 25, 14–30). Special glory and exaltation is promised to those who, in this kingdom, have stood foremost in contest; but even the slightest labor of love will not fail of a proportionate reward (Matt. 10, 42; 19, 28). And all this unmingled blessedness will be enjoyed, in union with each

other, forever. Whoever correctly throws himself into the future, and thus with spiritual tact distinguishes between figure and fact, will think twice before he characterizes the eschatology of Christ in the Synoptical Gospels, as "grossly material" (Reuss).

9. While thus, on the one hand, the children of the kingdom attain to perfect blessedness, the decision in regard to the children of darkness, on the other hand, has come; as such they are manifested, separated and meet a righteous retribution. It may be true that the word, eternal, in itself, does not convey the idea of endlessness; yet the great antithesis, with which our Lord closes his teachings (Matt. 25, 46), leaves no room for the supposition that at the end the ripe tares will be garnered with the good grain, and thus the completed kingdom of God will embrace all without distinction. The fearful word, likewise, concerning Judas (Matt. 26, 24) leads to an opposite conclusion, as does the terrible threatening (Matt. 18, 6) to those who willfully give offence. To attempt to support the contrary from the parable of the leaven (Matt. 13, 33) is wholly to lose sight of the difference between the region of natural necessity and that of moral freedom. And to regard such a representation as hard, is to forget that according to the tenor of other declarations (see, for example, Luke 12, 47. 48) the law of proportionateness will be steadily observed in the retributions of the future world.

10. It does not admit of denial, that our Lord constantly and even in his last eschatological discourses represents his future coming as very near at hand. This was the natural consequence of the prophetic mode of view, in which the difference of time and space is thrown into the background. It was also practically necessary, if the exhortation to watchfulness and labor was to receive its highest impressiveness from the relative nearness of a decisive future to come when not expected. Yet slight hints are by no means wanting that to Him the destruction of Jerusalem and the final judgment were far from identical, and that the latter might be delayed longer than impatient zeal expected. Notice the expressions: "immediately after the tribulation of those days," Matt. 24, 29, "after a long time," Matt. 25, 19, the assumption in Luke 12, 45, and

the intimation in Luke 21, 24. It is quite a question whether the receptivity of the Apostles on this point admitted of a more developed explanation. In any case the exact fixing of the time was not, in the view of our Lord, the main thing, so much as the lively exhibition of the fact of his approaching manifestation. The repeated references to this fact stood directly connected with the consolation and sanctification of his disciples, at which from first to last he principally aimed. It was important, also, that they should remember the direction which, according to an ancient tradition, He is said to have given to them, and which is applicable to us in the investigation of these and of all his words, "be ye skilled judges of coin."

On the discourses of our Lord in regard to his coming, comp. the extensive literature cited in HASE'S *Life of Jesus*, 5 Aufl., § 101; VAN OOSTERZEE, "*Life of Jesus*," III, 104 sqq. On the doctrine of reward, a treatise by WEISS in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift* for 1853.

Questions for Consideration.—For what reason did our Lord so closely connect the description of the last times with that of the destruction of Jerusalem?—In what respect does this description agree with the eschatology of Judaism in that age, and in what does it differ?—The difficulties which meet us, both in the literal and the allegorical explanation of these predictions.—Is there ground for affirming that, if Matt. 24 and 25 are to be regarded as genuine, Jesus was mistaken?—Can traces be found, in the words of Christ in the Synoptical Gospels, of the idea of a two-fold resurrection?—Criticism of the objections made against the explanation of Matt. 25, 31–40 as a description of the last judgment.—The doctrine of the thousand years' reign before the forum of Christ in the Synoptical Gospels.

CHAPTER II.

The Gospel of John.

§ 17.

Introduction.

The words of Jesus in the fourth Gospel present a character so entirely peculiar that a separate treatment, especially in our age, is not only desirable, but necessary. It is important in conducting it to distinguish, so far as possible, between the declarations of the Johannean Christ and those of the Christian John. In examining the former, the theology of the New Testament must proceed from the leading thought by which the discourses of our Lord in this Gospel are governed.

1. We cannot enter upon the examination of the teachings of our Lord in the fourth Gospel without a word of introduction, which shall justify, at the outset, the separate position given to this investigation, by pointing out the peculiar character of these immortal discourses. In advance of even a general view of the difference between the fourth Gospel and the three others, it is evident at once, that here, in listening to the words of our Lord, we are moving in a new circle of ideas. Not only is the theatre on which we usually meet Him different, but the form of his discourses and the impression made by them and even the matter itself, when compared with the Synoptical Gospels, present important points of difference. There, stands in the foreground the kingdom of heaven, here, the King himself; there, the human, here, the divine side of the person of the Saviour; there, the blessedness of redemption beyond, here, on this side of the grave. On this account the examination of both at the same time is attended with peculiar difficulty. No exhibition of the harmony of the three first Gospels with the fourth is of any value, which does not proceed from the unhesitating recognition of the difference between the two.

2. This separation, desirable in itself, is in the present state of the Johannean question doubly necessary. Never were the genuineness and credibility of the fourth Gospel so violently assailed as now. The Biblical Theology of the New Testament cannot take part directly in an investigation which belongs to the department of Introduction and Criticism. But collaterally it may throw some weight into the scale by inquiring whether the teachings of our Lord recorded in the Gospel of John are or are not in harmony with his other declarations. If at *this* point, to say nothing of any other, the accounts prove to be in irreconcilable contradiction, nothing remains but to decide between them. If on the contrary, the difference admits of being perfectly explained and reconciled, then it follows that from this armory at least no weapons can be brought against the fourth Gospel.

3. An important difficulty still remains, even when the genuineness of the fourth Gospel and in general its historical trust-worthiness are admitted. The question arises whether we are here listening to Jesus as he actually spoke, or as John, with frequently great freedom of narration, *represents* him as speaking. The latter is maintained by many, and it cannot be denied, in carefully comparing the Gospel and the Epistles of John, that we often find in the Baptist, the Lord himself and the Apostles the same ideas expressed in the same, or at least similar, forms. Still, care must be taken not to forge a weapon against the credibility of the Gospel of John from what, rightly viewed, constitutes a proof of its genuineness. If John was really the bosom friend of Jesus, or animated above others with the spirit of the Master, it is conceivable that he should gradually have entirely assimilated the language he used to that of the Lord, and on the contrary absolutely incredible that he should have placed words in his mouth which he well knew were never spoken. Even if we admit, therefore, that he recorded with apostolic freedom under divine guidance the words of THE WORD (which besides were spoken in another language), they may be regarded all the more readily as the words of Jesus, because it appears from various examples that between the style of John and that of Jesus as found in John there is a discernable, though not a great, difference. Thus, John in

the prologue of his Gospel speaks of the Logos, but the Johannean Christ never gives this name to himself. Our Lord designates himself also as the Son of Man, but the Apostle never employs this title in his testimony concerning his Master. Jesus calls his disciples brethren and friends; John avoids it. Jesus speaks of *his* kingdom and the kingdom of God; John, when speaking himself, does not mention it. The Holy Ghost is described by Jesus as the Paraclete (John 14, 16. 17); by John (2, 2) the glorified Christ himself. Jesus speaks of God as a Spirit (4, 24): John only declares him to be light and love (1, 5; 4, 16). Such differences, which might be easily multiplied, could not be explained, if John had without scruple placed his own thoughts in the mouth of the Master. If it appear doubtful here and there whether he himself speaks or is reporting the discourses of the Lord (*e. g.* 3, 16–21; comp. 3, 31–36) the dividing line is still for the most part sufficiently visible; and even if sometimes the form of the report be partly ascribed to him, the fidelity of the main contents may be successfully vindicated. On these grounds we regard it as possible and necessary to distinguish properly in the Gospel of John between the Johannean theology and the doctrine of Christ, and here to speak exclusively of the latter.

4. Here, as in the survey of the Synoptical discourses, it is of prime importance to fix upon the main thought, by which the discourses of our Lord in the Gospel of John are governed, and allow this to shed light upon the treatment of the particular parts. Care, however, must be taken not to confound the main idea of the Gospel itself with the main idea of the discourses of Christ preserved for us in this Gospel. The science of Introduction investigates the first by an analytic process; the other is derived by Biblical Theology from the total impression made by the words of our Lord here recorded, in distinction from others. And then it can hardly be denied that these words in the fullest sense exhibit a Christo-centric character; that is, that His own person and work constitute the great centre around which all revolves. To a certain degree this was also to be observed in the Synoptical Gospels, but what was there only an element of the Gospel of the kingdom has here obviously become the principal thing. We must conse-

quently begin with the inquiry, not what our Lord declared concerning his kingdom in general, concerning the Father, or concerning man, but what he taught concerning Himself in all these and similar relations, before we are in a condition to answer the question, how far these declarations can or cannot be reconciled with those brought before us in the preceding chapter.

In regard to the Johannean question in general, besides the *Introductions to the New Testament*, especially those of GUERICKE and BLEEK [the latter translated into English], and the excellent Commentary of GODET, 1864, 1865, compare VAN OOSTERZEE, "*The Gospel of John*," Utrecht, 1867, and the literature there cited; to which may be added the important work of RIGGENBACH, "*The Testimonies for the Gospel of John*," Basle, 1866 [also FISHER, *On the Supernatural Origin of Christianity*, 2d ed.] On the genuineness and credibility of the Johannean report of the discourses of Jesus, more particularly GODET, "*Examination of the principal questions raised in our day concerning the fourth Gospel*," Paris, 1865. On the difference between the Johannean language and theology and that of our Lord, the article of P. HOFSTEDE DE GROOT in *Waarh. in Liefde*, 1837, and G. L. PAREAU, in the same periodical, 1847. The neglect of this difference has exerted an exceedingly unfavorable influence upon the treatment of the theology of the Johannean Christ by most of the more recent theologians. Comp. further upon that theology in general, REUSS, SCHMID and others; also what G. W. STEMLER has written upon it in *Godgel. Bijdr.*, 1866. We willingly concede to the last named writer, that the teachings of Jesus in the fourth Gospel properly contain, as a whole, no theology, if this word be taken in the sense of a strict theological *system*. This, however, does not prevent our endeavoring to bring the extended discourses of our Lord, so far as possible, into one connected whole.

Questions for Consideration.—When was a beginning made in investigating the teachings of Jesus in John, separately from those in the Synoptical Gospels?—May the distinguishing between the doctrine of the Johannean Christ and of the Christian John be perfectly justified?—How far and on what grounds may

we speak of a literal report of the discourses of our Lord by the Apostle John?—The observations of the writer of the fourth Gospel compared with his report of the words of the Lord.—Can we here properly speak of a theology?

§ 18.

The Son of God in the Flesh.

The consciousness of himself expressed by our Lord in the fourth Gospel is that of God's own Son, appearing as true and holy man among men, in order to become the Messiah of Israel and the Saviour of the world; but who, even during his abode on earth, does not cease to stand personally in a relation to heaven entirely peculiar to himself.

1. For the right knowledge and judgment of the theology of the Johannean Christ, it is first of all important to inquire what consciousness of himself is properly expressed by the *I*, who affirms such unheard of things concerning himself. This question, under the influence of previous dogmatic ideas or wishes, has received various answers. Whoever examines candidly and attentively, and compares what our Lord says of Himself in the third person and in the first, cannot long remain in uncertainty. As the fourth Gospel begins with the divine nature of our Lord, while the first and third commence with his human birth, so it is with the words and discourses of Jesus in this Gospel. In the Synoptical writings we ascend to the revelation of his divine dignity; in John we set out with the assumption of this truth. The *I* who here speaks is neither on the one hand merely human, nor on the other is the Messianic consciousness of the Lord that of the Son of God conceived of aside from all relations to mankind: it is uniformly the expression of the feeling of the incarnate Son of God *as such.*

2. That our Lord, especially in the fourth Gospel, styles himself very often the Son, the Son of God, once even the only begotten Son (v. 16), is admitted by all. Of what nature is this relation which he has to the Father, according to his

own declarations, will be presently investigated. Here it is enough to observe in passing, that in any case a superhuman relation, a personality supermundane in its origin, is indicated by the term. This is evident from the fact, not merely that the Lord in the Gospel of John applies this name to no one but Himself, but also that He thereby claims for himself a personal existence before his coming into the world, such as can be ascribed to no one else. See among other passages chap. 6, 62; 8, 58; 16, 28; 17, 5. 24. The arbitrariness which undertakes to expunge several of these passages as interpolated is quite as unjustifiable as the violence shown to their meaning in explaining them as teaching only an ideal (impersonal) pre-existence. If men will not believe our Lord's declarations in regard to his own consciousness, let them at least not mutilate them by making Him say something different from what, according to impartial exegetical and critical investigation, He actually did say. Moreover, the same consciousness lies at the basis of those words, in which He declares that he was born, came, or was sent for a definite purpose (chap. 10, 10; 18, 37). It may be also seriously doubted whether our Lord would ever have allowed himself to have been greeted by one of his disciples as his "Lord and his God" (20, 28) if He had not had the abiding consciousness of superhuman origin and dignity.

3. It is, however, far from true, that He who knew so much more than man, was, in his own view, man only in appearance. On the contrary, He calls himself "a man who speaks the truth" (8, 40), and repeatedly employs the term Son of Man (1, 52; 3, 14; 5, 27). He speaks of his coming into the world (18, 37); shows the most tender care for his mother (19, 26); makes express mention of his flesh and blood (6, 54); asks a question for information (11, 34); and declares that his soul (ψυχή) is troubled. On the cross He complains of thirst (19, 28), and after his resurrection constrains Thomas to lay his hand in his side and note the marks of the nails (20, 27). The exegesis which, after such strong testimony, styles the Johannean Christ docetic (i. e. man only in appearance) because He also declares higher things of himself, assumes, what must first be proved, that it is impossible in itself to be more than man and at the same time truly man.

4. It is equally unquestionable that our Lord regarded himself, according to this Gospel, as perfectly pure and sinless. He views and represents himself, indeed, as subject to temptation (6, 15; 12, 27), but the prince of this world has nothing in Him (14, 30). Negatively, this consciousness is manifest from the question, "which of you convinceth me of sin?" (8, 46), which, if not the issue of pride or self-deception, must be the expression of the objective truth; and positively, from so many expressions in which He, who seeks not his own glory (7, 18), bears testimony to a morally normal relation to the Father, never for one moment disturbed or obscured (4, 34; 8, 29; 11, 9; 15, 9; 17, 4). Consequently he does not merely seek and find his place among the "artists of the ideal of humanity" (STRAUSS), but places himself without arrogance and yet unequivocally above all who lived before Him or who will live after Him (3, 6).

5. As true and spotless man, our Lord expressly affirms that he has appeared on earth in a distinct character as the Messiah of Israel and the Saviour of a sinful world. His relation to the world will be treated of presently. In regard to Israel, it is evident that Jesus in the fourth Gospel early represents himself as the Messiah, and as such accepts homage (see 1, 52; 3, 14; 4, 26 and other passages), and even makes salvation dependent upon the recognition or rejection of himself as such (8, 24). Far from correcting the multitude, when they understood the term, Son of Man, as meaning the Messiah (12, 34. 35), he obviously sanctions it; and although denying before Pilate that his kingdom is to be of this world, does not deny that He may be called a King. He repeatedly appeals to the testimony of the Scriptures concerning Him (13, 18; 15, 26), and, as the one, by way of distinction, Sent, presents himself on the last evening of his life before his Father as spotless (17, 3. 4). He feels and reveals himself, consequently, in a single word, as a historical person, of whom Moses wrote (5, 46), and who temporarily appears upon earth for the fulfillment of a distinct mission.

6. Yet, although as man He dwells in person on earth, He nevertheless knows himself to be in heaven (3, 13). He was there not merely before his birth; in virtue of his

higher nature He did, and does, remain there after it. What he speaks He has seen and heard Himself in the most intimate communion with the Father (8, 38; 12, 49. 50). He is not only conscious of possessing a pre-existent life, but He represents it with the modification rendered necessary by his appearance in a true and holy human nature. Coming forth from the Father, he returns shortly to his immediate communion with Him (16, 28); yet he ceases not, even during this intermediate period, to be in the Father, to hear and to learn of Him, and by Him to be loved. There is, thus, in his consciousness, a human and a divine factor, originally distinct, now blended together in an inseparable unity, in which the activity of the one does not prevent that of the other. The right of critical inquiry to pronounce such a consciousness to be *a priori* inconceivable is yet to be proved. That nothing like this is stated in the fourth Gospel is, to the Biblical theologian, a fixed result of exegetical investigation.

Compare in general VAN OOSTERZEE, "*Christology;*" GESS, "*The Doctrine of the Person of Christ,*" Basle, 1866, S. 134 ff.; WEIZSÄCKER, "*On the Johannean testimony of Christ himself*" in the Jahrbücher für deutsche Theol., 1857, 1862 (an exegetical argument against the hypostatical pre-existence); ASTIE, "*Explanation of the Gospel according to St. John,*" Geneva, 1864; BEISCHLAG, "*Christology of the New Testament,*" Berlin, 1866, S. 65–108. For the refutation of the rationalistic interpretation of the utterances of our Lord, excellent arguments are found in SCHOLTEN, "*The Gospel of John,*" Leyden, 1864. In defence of the true humanity of our Lord, according to his own testimony, deserves to be consulted BONIFAS, "*On the humanity of Jesus Christ according to the Gospel of John,*" in the Theological Bulletin of the *Revue Chrétienne*, 1864.

Questions for Consideration.—Is the investigation of the consciousness of the principal person in the fourth Gospel of the first importance?—The different phases of the modern criticism, reflected in its treatment of John 6, 62; 8, 58; 17, 5; and similar passages.—What peculiarity appears in the discourses of our Lord in the fourth Gospel concerning his Messianic dignity?—Is not the term, Son of God, here and there used by

Jesus in its pure theocratic sense (John 10, 33–38)?—Is John 17, 3 to be regarded as containing the words of Jesus himself?

§ 19.

The Son of God in relation to the Father.

As the Son of God our Lord represents himself to have always existed, and ever to remain the object of the highest love of the Father, sharing in his nature, majesty and work, and thus to have in the Father the ground and the aim of his life, revealing his name in the most perfect manner, in virtue of which He is entitled to a homage and glory such as cannot without blasphemy be given to any created being.

1. Although in the fourth Gospel the appellation, Son of God, is used in a few instances in a theocratic sense as synonymous with the word Messiah (1, 50 and elsewhere), yet our Lord generally uses it in the metaphysical sense, to indicate the relation of nature and being which exists between Him and the Father, in virtue of which He, in distinction from every other, is the only begotten of the Father (3, 16). The utterances of his consciousness of himself on this point are the more important, the more exalted and manifold they are. It is clear at the outset, that they indicate a relation which did not first begin at his human birth, but existed "before the foundation of the world" (17, 5. 24). Undoubtedly, in this passage, we seek in vain for our philosophical idea of eternity. But it is equally certain that all beginning of existence in and with time is here most expressly excluded (comp. Ps. 90, 2). The being of the Son is an existence from eternity. He never mentions a period, in which he was not, but was to be. And what He ever was and is, He remains, even during his life on earth. The actual existence of his humanity did not change the essential nature of his Sonship.

2. As Son our Lord declares himself to be the object of the highest love of the Father (5, 20), in consequence of which the latter, as in an eternal present, shows Him all that He does.

This love is unchangeable, like Himself, and is returned by the Son with the most intimate affection (14, 31; 17, 24). Though thus the Father is and remains distinct from the Son, both are essentially one, in consequence of a perfect vital communion; here is a unity of power, which again is not conceivable without unity of nature and essence (10, 30).* When the Jews, on the ground of expressions like this, accuse Him of making himself equal with God (5, 18), he does not deny it, but proceeds to further illustrations (vv. 19–23), by which He explains but does not weaken his previous declarations.

3. In consequence of this unity of nature and majesty, there is also between the Father and the Son a unity of work. This our Lord expressly affirms, in vindicating himself against the charge of breaking the Sabbath (5, 17).† The divine work of raising the dead and judging is distinctly committed by the Father to the Son (vv. 21–29). If all life proceeds from the Father (1 Sam. 2, 6; Deut. 32, 39), he yet awakes and presents it through the Son, both in the natural and the spiritual sense of the word. If God is judge (Ps. 75, 8), he yet, without the the Son, judges no one and nothing. The divine attributes necessary to perform such a work are claimed by our Lord without any reservation. He has power over all flesh (17, 2), and exhibits in all his words a knowledge far above all human wisdom (12, 50 and elsewhere), and can even boldly say, "Father, I will" (17, 24).

4. Nevertheless, the will of the Son never acts, a single instant, without that of the Father. On the contrary He has in the Father the ground and the aim of his life. As Son he has received life from the Father, and lives through Him (5, 26; 6, 57). Because he is Son, it would be impossible to do any thing of Himself, i. e., out of communion with the Father (5, 19), but because He, as Son, partakes of the nature of the Father, He does, also, without exception what He sees the Father do. As Son he thus declares himself dependent upon

* Calvin remarks on this passage: *non disputat h. l. de unitate substantiæ;* but he speaks too feebly, when he adds: *sed de consensu quem cum Patre habet.* That here a unity of *power* must be conceived of, and that from this the unity of essence results as a necessary conclusion, we have already observed in our "*Christology*," II, 76; comp. "*Life of Jesus*," II, 681.

† *Quae conclusio stare non potest, nisi aequalitas personarum Patris et Filii statuatur, ut recte Patres adversus Arianos hoc loco docuerunt.* BEZA.

the Father, calls Him, not only in his human, but in his divine-human nature, greater than Himself (14, 28), makes the seeking not of his own, but of his Father's glory the end of his striving (7, 8), while in return He expects of the Father that He will maintain the glory of the Son and will magnify Him (17, 1).

5. On earth the Son glorifies the Father by revealing his name more perfectly than was ever done before. For this He was sanctified (10, 35), i. e., set apart before his incarnation by the Father, and afterwards sealed by Him (6, 27), i. e., furnished with the unequivocal evidence of his approval. In what way He discharged this commission will appear presently. This is the place to consider the idea of God which pervades the discourses of the Johannean Christ. Pervades; for it is manifest at once that to the question, who God is, our Lord does not here give an express answer, any more than in the Synoptical Gospels. The name, Father, is never an actual description of the Divine essence, but of the relation in which God stands to Him and through Him to his disciples. And even the declaration, "God is a *Spirit*" (4, 24), sublime as it is, is only the clear, sententious expression of a truth, which under the old covenant had at least been felt and declared (Ex. 33, 18–23). Even the mention of God as (in distinction from idols) the only true God (17, 3), who has life in Himself (5, 26), is an echo of what was there taught, and the attributes of the Divine being, e. g., holiness, eternity and righteousness, which He here mentions by name (17, 11; 24, 25), are also elsewhere recognized. Yet He declares with manifest emphasis, when speaking of the completed work of his life (17, 6), that He has revealed to man the name of the *Father*, and this word gives to us an important hint. It indicates that in his estimation this name (the expression of the proper nature of God) was hidden, i. e., not absolutely unknown, but still not known in its full glory, but is now brought to light, because He has appeared, who could say without boasting: "he that hath seen me, hath seen the Father" (14, 9). The Son, therefore, reveals the Father not so much through the words which he speaks in common with other men of God, as rather through his person, the appearance of whom in the flesh is the answer to the peti-

tion: "Show us the Father." As Son of God He is at the same time the highest revelation of God.

6. As the highest revelation of the Father, in whose nature, majesty and work He was a sharer from eternity, the Son of God lays claim to a homage and honor which can be given to no created being without idolatry (5, 23). The word employed is undoubtedly "to honor" (τιμᾶν), and not "to worship" (προσκυνεῖν), but the former, as the most general word, includes in it the latter as expressing the more special homage, which cannot possibly be refused to the Son, if He be truly honored as (καθώς) the Father (comp. John 20, 28). For this reason, the requirement of faith in Him and in God is most intimately united (14, 1); he expressly declares that it is impossible to worship the Father and at the same time to reject the Son (John 15, 23; 16, 3); and, on the other hand, He receives with approbation the worship offered to Him by the man born blind (9, 38).

7. After what has been said, there is no doubt in regard to the question whether our Lord in the Gospel of John denies every essential difference between himself and the Godhead, with the exception of what is inseparable from the personal relation between the Father and the Son. He does not speak in figurative language on this point, as the Evangelist does (1, 18) when he describes the Son as "in the bosom of the Father," but literally and directly. He is in the Father and the Father in Him. All that are the Father's are therefore his (17, 10). He is from above (8, 24), an expression used by no one else, not even by John the Baptist of himself (3, 31); He, and He alone, hath seen the Father (6, 46). He has come down from heaven (6, 33. 38); which does not mean that He is of heavenly nature and so far of heavenly origin, but the reverse—of heavenly origin, and in consequence, of heavenly nature. In a word, although He never calls himself God, He will not be regarded as less than God, and the only difference between Him and the Being on whom He at the same time calls in prayer, is finally this: that the latter is the Father, and He the Son of his love —distinct from the Father, but yet of the same nature. It is in vain to contradict this result by bringing forward single passages which apparently give a weaker idea (e. g., John 10,

34–36; 17, 3. 21. 22). Such passages must not be isolated, but brought into connection with his other declarations. But even taken singly, they do not prove what is sometimes drawn from them. In 10, 34–36 in calling the attention of his hearers by an elevated accommodation, from their low point of view, to the fact that even theocratic persons of eminence sometimes receive the name of God, He does not affirm that He has styled himself the Son of God only in this figurative sense, but plainly rises from the lower to the higher. In John 17, 3 the Father is called the only true God, not to the exclusion of the Son from all right to this title (see vv. 5 and 10), but in distinction from the Son, because the latter here speaks in the distinct character of one sent by the Father. In declaring, however, that in the knowledge of Himself is eternal life, He must have felt himself more than a mere creature. Least of all, finally, does it follow from 17, 21. 22 that our Lord speaks of a merely moral and not of a metaphysical unity between Himself and the Father. The whole distinction does not pertain to this circle of ideas. He desires only that his disciples be as intimately united with each other as He is with the Father. This relation He regards as the model, of which he would have theirs to be a copy. "*Illa unitas est ex naturâ, haec ex gratiâ, igitur illi haec similis est, non aequalis*," BENGEL. The empirical criticism which understands these declarations of the most sublime consciousness of Himself by Jesus in no weaker sense than that originally intended, but for this very reason regards them as absolutely unhistorical and incredible, stands always, in substance, on the low platform of the Jews (John 5, 18; 10, 33).

Comp. VAN OOSTERZEE, "*Christology*," II. 72 sqq.; REUSS, II. 360; SCHMID, I. 160 sqq.; FROMMANN, "*Theology of John*," S. 386 ff.; an article by VAN HERWERDEN in *Waarh. in L.* 1863.

Questions for Consideration.—Did the Jews misunderstand our Lord, or did they not, when they maintained that He made himself equal to God?—Does the Christology of Arianism find any support in the declarations of the Johannean Christ?—Do these expressions favor the subordination view?—What is the sense of John 8, 38?—And of chap. 17, 21–23?

§ 20.

The Son of God in relation to the World.

The name of the Father is revealed by the Son in a world, which through sin and its ruler stands under the power of darkness, but receives new light and life from God in Christ. Both by his incarnation and his entire work, but especially through his suffering and death, he communicates to it this light and life. But in order personally to enjoy this benefit, a faith of the heart is indispensable, the requirement of which rests upon reasonable grounds, but which from moral causes is by no means found in all.

1. The Son from all eternity stands in relation to the Father, but his relation to the world commenced at a definite period. In regard to this latter relation before his incarnation, our Lord makes no statement in the Gospel of John. But so much the more explicitly does he speak in regard to what, having once appeared in the world, he proposes and does. Before, however, we consider this work, it is necessary to become acquainted with the theatre on which it is performed.

2. In the frequent instances in which our Lord in John's Gospel speaks of "the world," the term is not always to be taken in the same sense. The idea expressed by it has both a physical and an ethical side. In the former sense it must be understood, for instance, when He says that He has come into the world and now, again, leaves it (16, 28); in the latter, when He testifies of his disciples that they are not, even as He is not, of the world (17, 14). In the first case, "world" is the same as "earth," *this* (mundane, visible) world, as it is often called by way of emphasis, as distinguished from the invisible and higher world,—in a word, the world of mankind (8, 12), and without regard to the relation of its inhabitants to God. An ethical side of the word may be observed, whenever in its connection, it plainly designates the mass of mankind alienated from God, not merely ungodly, but anti-godly. It is thus to be understood, for example, in John 3, 17; 14, 19; 15, 19. Since,

now, our Lord is conscious of standing not only as the heavenly one in distinction from every thing earthly, but also as the holy one as opposed to the impure, and calls by the name of flesh all that is born of flesh, it is no wonder that the term "world" is used in an unfavorable sense.

3. In this world, further, sin (ἁμαρτία) rules, and this sin is not infirmity merely, but a dreadful power, which subjects the world to itself and renders it worthy of eternal judgment (3, 17). The universality of sin, which is always assumed by our Lord whenever He speaks of his coming *to* and his indispensableness *for* the world, is moreover expressly placed in the foreground, in the discourse upon the new birth (3, 5–8). The birth from the flesh, which is common to all men, is not only insufficient to bring them into the kingdom of God, but makes them absolutely unfit for that kingdom, unless they are born again of the Spirit. Here likewise (as in Matt. 26, 41), the word, flesh, in its antithesis to Spirit, has not only a physical but also an ethical sense. This flesh is now, in man as he is by nature, the leading and controlling power. The judging after the flesh (8, 15) leads necessarily to error, and is the more fatal because those blinded by this power always think they see (9, 41). Sin, also, when it once controls a man, renders him its slave (8, 34), and this slave walks in darkness, which in the uniform language of the fourth Gospel is a symbol of the deepest misery (12, 35). The sinner fails of the true light, because the true life is wanting; he lives in a state of spiritual death, from which he must be waked and yet can only be, through the mighty word of the Son of God (5, 24). Sin, indeed, has different degrees (19, 11), but not one at which it can be pronounced excusable. It reaches its culmination in the crime of the rejection of Christ, in comparison with which all other guilt is almost nothing (15, 22–25), and which is nothing less than the dreadful manifestation of a blind hate against God (15, 23). No wonder that it is punished in the most terrible manner. If the Johannean Christ declines to recognize in particular calamities the punishment of particular sins (9, 3), he yet teaches in general as an unquestionable truth, that this sinful world already lies under sentence of condemnation, which, if not averted, will inevitably end in damnation (5, 24. 29).

4. Whence this dominion of sin and death in the world? Our Lord speaks of the Prince of this world (ὁ ἄρχων τ. κόσμου) as the enemy of God and his kingdom. To special demoniacal possession He does not here refer (miracles in connection with those thus affected do not come into view in the fourth Gospel), but the world apostate from God, appears in his view as the great possessed one, which is ruled by this monarch, and which He only can heal (John 12, 32; comp. Luke 10, 18). His life, and especially his sufferings, are one single struggle against this enemy, from which He comes forth in triumph. This power is ever laying snares even for his disciples (17, 15), but the hostile Jews, in particular, show by their deeds that they are kindred of the Devil (8, 44) who was a murderer from the beginning. Our Lord here refers obviously, not to the murder of the first brother (1 John 3, 12) but to the history of the fall (Gen. 3); and to the question, whence comes sin in the Wicked One, He simply answers, that he did not stand (οὐχ ἕστηκεν) in the truth, because there is no truth in him. His element is not this, but falsehood; accordingly he is a liar and a murderer from the beginning, that is, from the beginning of the history of sin in the race of man. Our Lord does not say that the Devil was created evil; nor even that he may be called a fallen angel, for the simple reason, that he is here speaking only of the origin of sin in man, and not at all in the world of spirits. To infer from this silence that He favors what is known as Dualism, that is, that he conceived of the Wicked One as an eternal, independent principle of evil, is to go beyond what the letter or spirit of this mysterious declaration warrants.

5. But although every one who serves sin, is also a servant of this kingdom of darkness, all men do not stand in exactly the same relation to it. On the contrary our Lord recognizes, aside from the relation in which they stand to Him, two different kinds of men,—those who see with the natural eye and are blind, and those who are blind and yet are desirous of salvation and would see (9, 39–41); those who do evil in virtue of their governing principle, and those who do the truth (3, 20. 21) and hear God's word, because they are of God (8, 45) and would do his will (7, 17) and have inwardly heard and learned of Him (6, 45). To those thus seeking light, the light needs only to be

revealed, in order to be immediately recognized and followed. To others, on the contrary, it is morally impossible to distinguish the truth, because in consequence of the dominion of the wicked principle the receptivity for it is wanting. They cannot believe (5, 40–44) and will not therefore come to Jesus; they do not belong to his sheep (10, 26). They do not love Christ, because, in the moral sense of the word, the Devil, not God, is their Father (8, 42).

6. The cause of this profound difference, lies, according to the teachings of our Lord, neither in God, for his aim is to save the world (3, 16. 17), to and for which he has sent his Son; nor in an insuperable necessity of nature; for He never favors an essentially dualistic philosophy, and it would be impossible for Him to threaten unbelief with a punishment so severe as He does, if it was merely fate and not guilt. How could He have said, for example (15, 24) "they have no cloak for their sin," if they were not personally responsible for it? It is thus in accordance with his spirit to ascribe to Him the conviction, which we have seen that He expresses in the Synoptical Gospels, that the not being willing is an act of freedom, the not being able a result of the misuse of freedom, and that on the contrary when faith exists in the heart, the glory of it must be ascribed to the drawing of the Father (6, 44). On the precise connection between grace and freedom He here speaks even less expressly than there; it is enough, that He distinguishes and unites the two factors.

7. In this world, thus blinded and distracted, Christ appears as the highest revelation of the Father. That He appears is the fruit of the love of God, who proposes to present light and life. The universality of the Divine plan of redemption is so emphatically declared by our Lord (John 3, 16. 17; 12, 32; 17, 21) that only a sophistical interpretation in the service of an arbitrary assumption can derive the contrary from his words. In obedience to the will of the Father, the Lord, the living bread, has come down from heaven, in order to give life to the world (6, 33. 38). That this will of the Father, however, is also His, is evident from this, that He is not merely sent, but came forth (16, 28), so that destination and work are for Him blended in a higher unity (10, 17. 18; 14, 31).

8. Christ becomes the light of the world particularly through his appearance and his work on earth. But he is such also through his word. He has appeared in order to bear witness to religious truth (ἀλήθεια 18, 37), approves the calling Him master, by his disciples (13, 14) and sharply brings out in the form of a new commandment the chief requirement of his Gospel (13, 34). As in the Synoptical Gospels, so in John, he adheres as closely as possible to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which in no case can be broken (10, 35; 13, 18; 15, 25; comp. 5, 39; 6, 45; 7, 38). Yet the truth, already there announced, is now first brought prominently forward, in its full light, before the world. It is his person, in which it concentrates itself, as it were, and reveals itself to the open eye (8, 12; 12, 35; 14, 6). And this revelation of the truth is one with the communication of the life. He calls himself the Life and the Resurrection (11, 25), not because He himself arose, but because he calls forth others from the grave (comp. 5, 25. 26)—"the personal power of both, the one who wakes and makes alive" (MEYER). Life he now gives in the spiritual sense (5, 25. 26), and once also to all the dead (vv. 28. 29) in the natural sense.

9. This life and resurrection, however, stand connected with judgment. Christ is come into the world for judgment (9, 39); his appearance and work bring about a separation, a crisis between man and man. The inner difference between the direction of their lives manifests itself in their relation to Him. Thus He is here in fact a judge, although he originally appeared as a Saviour (3, 17; 12, 47; comp. 5, 45; 8, 11).* His judgment consists in this, that the darkness is manifested as darkness (3, 18), and this judgment becomes constantly more manifest as his life on earth approaches its termination. In His death, particularly, is the prince of this world judged (12, 31. 32; 16, 11). And once at the end of the world the great, inner separation will be brought to light before all eyes (5, 27–29; 12, 48). From the nature of the case the Messianic judgment extends to all, but the believer does not come into judgment (3, 18; 5, 24), in the sense that he is here in the possession of

* On the genuineness of John 7, 53—8, 11, see an article by C. GRAF, in the *Vierteljahrschrift für deutsche u. engl. Theol. Zür.*, 1866.

eternal life, and free from the sentence of death and condemnation.

10. A work like that of Jesus must necessarily encounter opposition. It culminates in suffering and death, but even these, instead of working against the design of his coming, must on the contrary, according to his own explanation, further it; his death will be the overcoming of the world (16, 33). In the fourth Gospel also we find our Lord foretelling his suffering and death, first in a more indirect and figurative manner (2, 19; 3, 14; 4, 37), afterwards, more expressly and unequivocally (8, 40; 10, 17. 18). Here, too, we witness the natural distress (12, 27) with which He anticipates the approaching "hour," and at the same time his free choice, in obedience (14, 31) and love (15, 13) to drink the bitter cup. Here likewise, this suffering is represented as connected with the distinct counsel and will of the Father (10, 18; 19, 11) and as having the same ground, and the same glorious design and issue, as elsewhere. It is wholly undeserved on his part (5, 25), and is laid upon Him by the wickedness of men (8, 37–40; 15, 20) but has at the same time an efficacy to work out salvation for them. He calls his flesh, which he will give for the life of the world, heavenly bread (6, 51).* As the good Shepherd, He gives his life, in order to snatch them from inevitable destruction (10, 11–13). His being lifted up on the cross has a similar design with that of the brazen serpent in the wilderness (3, 14. 15). To this design the fruit corresponds, not merely to his disciples for whose sanctification he freely offered up himself to God as a sacrifice (17, 19), but also in a wider circle; to his kingdom,—the dead grain of wheat lives again in other stalks (12, 24); to the world,—it is judged and its prince cast out (8, 28; 12, 31); to Himself,—He is glorified through suffering (17, 1), for he rises from the dead, as he repeatedly predicts in express language in the Gospel of John 10, 17; 2, 19; comp. Matt. 27, 63). Thus his death becomes, in the fullest sense, not the limit, but the crown of his work.

11. The salvation brought by him, is however by no means obtained by all. In John also our Lord makes a participation

* The words ἣν ἐγω δώσω we think must be retained. Comp. *Leven van Jesus* II, bl. 453.

in this salvation absolutely dependent upon faith in Him, which here likewise is called a coming *to* the Son, and at the same time a seeing Him with a spiritual eye (6, 35. 40). If the word faith (πίστις) as a substantive, does not occur in his discourses in John, the requirement of faith, and of that in which its essence consists, may yet be easily derived from them. And although the idea of holding a thing to be true is not here to be excluded (especially when πιστεύειν is construed with ὅτι or with the accusative), yet the deepest essence of faith is confidence of the heart, which attaches itself most intimately to Him and receives Him (13, 20). He himself is the object of faith (3, 16 and elsewhere), and of such value is it in the sight of God that faith alone is fundamentally required as the work preëminently acceptable to Him (6, 29), and justly. Christ has credentials such as no one before or after Him has ever had.

12. The grounds, on which our Lord requires faith in Him, and rests his heavenly dignity are three-fold. They are borrowed from the past, the present and the future. In the past, the Father has borne witness of Him (5, 33–39), partly through the prophetic Scriptures, which render unbelief absolutely inexcusable, and partly through the sending of John, to whom the Jews themselves had resorted. As to the present, our Lord appeals partly to the testimony of his works, by which he refers neither exclusively nor mainly to his miracles, but in general to all the revelations of his divine glory, miracles included (5, 36; 10, 38; 14, 11), and partly to the inward testimony of the heart and conscience, which sees in his word the deepest wants satisfied (7, 17). In the future, He expected the justification of his cause from the evidence given for the truth of his words by their fulfillment (14, 29). His death on the cross was to serve to open the eyes of even his enemies (8, 28), and the Holy Spirit to plead triumphantly for his cause against the unbelieving world (16, 8–11).

13. Since there is, thus, sufficient ground for the faith required in Christ, unbelief is inexcusable and yet not inexplicable. Moral causes for this unbelief may be shown, which are overcome only by higher power (6, 44). The perverted state of the disposition darkens the eye of the understanding and alienates from the Gospel. For the truth is a matter not for the intel-

lect but for the life: he who will not do the truth, cannot see it (3, 21). So little does this perverse disposition admit of excuse that an appeal to Moses is entirely sufficient to expose its unreasonableness (5, 45–47). If He does not accuse them to the Father, it is not because He might not do so; hence the cause of this evil can never be found in Him, and on the other hand it is to be ascribed to Him alone that in many the strength of the evil principle is subdued, for they who belong to the Son have been given to Him of the Father (17, 2).

Comp. in general, VAN OOSTERZEE, "*Christology*," II, bl. 89; also REUSS and SCHMID; and in regard to particular points, SCHMID, *Doctrina de Diabolo in libris Joh. proposita*, Jena, 1800; NACHENIUS, *de notione* τοῖς ἔργοις *et* τῷ ἔργῳ, *quæ Jesus sibi vindicat, tribuenda*, Amstel, 1841; RUTGERS, *de fundamento, quo Joh. auctore fidem sibi habendam niti voluerit Christus*, L. B. 1860; JONKER, "*The Gospel of John*," Amst., 1867.

Questions for Consideration.—Do the declarations of our Lord in the fourth Gospel authorize the position that He endorses dualism in the sphere of morals?—Is John 8, 44 spoken of the devil only or of the father of the devil (HILGENFELD)?—Do the anthropological declarations of the Johannean Christ leave room for the ideas of free will and guilt?—How may John 3, 17 be reconciled with 12, 48?—Is there sufficient ground for regarding chap. 5, 28. 29 and the last words of chap. 6, 40. 54 and 12, 48 as genuine?—Did our Lord in chap. 3, 14. 15 (comp. 12, 32. 33) actually speak of his being lifted up on the cross?—Has John in chap. 2, 21 and 7, 39 correctly explained the words of the Master?

§ 21.

The Son of God in his relation to his Disciples.

They who are given by the Father to the Son, and in consequence of this come through the Son to the Father, are brought into a vital communion with the Son and through Him with one another, the peculiar character of which is known only in the way of spiritual experience, and the beneficent influence of which manifests itself in the whole direction of their

inner and outer life. Through the sending of the Holy Spirit after our Lord's departure from the earth, this communion is modified, but in no respect terminated.

1. On the one hand it is certain, according to the teachings of our Lord in John, that the Father draws to the Son (6, 44. 45); on the other that it is impossible without the Son to come to the Father (14, 6). These two ideas do not exclude but mutually supplement each other. The Divine drawing (ἑλκύειν), which is to be distinguished from the external calling (καλεῖν) in the Synoptical Gospels, is a psychological constraint (6, 45) but not in any degree a mechanical compulsion; so far from excluding man's own agency, it rather presupposes and requires it.

2. They who are thus brought to the Son and through Him to the Father, do not by any means stand alone, but are most intimately united with the Lord and with each other. Only once in the Gospel of John does Jesus speak of the kingdom of God (3, 3. 5; comp. 18, 36. 37), but yet the idea which is realized through this kingdom stands, on the last evening of his life, in its full glory, before his eyes (17, 21–23). Here, too, it is manifest that He will have a communion of all in whom the same spiritual life exists. In respect to the external forms, pertaining to the foundation and support of this communion, we here find still less than in the Synoptical Gospels. A birth from water and the Spirit is required (3, 5), an eating and drinking of his flesh and blood is represented as absolutely necessary (6, 53), but farther not the least mention of baptism and the Lord's Supper is made. The washing of feet (13, 14), moreover, is not prescribed as a sacrament, but serves only as a model and emblem. So much the stronger is the emphasis which our Lord lays upon the existence of the communion which unites Him with his disciples.

3. It is well known that in the fourth Gospel we have no proper parables like those which so frequently occur in the three first. In place of these, we here find a number of comparisons, so extended and amplified that they occasionally approach the form of parable (see *e. g.* 10, 11–16; 15, 1–6). As the parables relate to the kingdom of God, so all these

metaphors refer to the communion between Him and his disciples, and bring to view in various forms, what they would be without Him, what they may find in Him, and what for Him they must become. He is the Bread of life (6, 48), the Light of the world (8, 12), the good Shepherd (10, 11), the true Vine (15, 1). In respect to all these comparisons it must be observed, that they indicate not so much the value of our Lord's teachings, as of his entire personality, and this especially for his followers: next, that they exhibit salvation not only as indispensable but as priceless, and as something which can be satisfactorily known and properly appreciated only by experience; and finally, that they relate to a mutual communion, which, wholly gratuitous on his part (15, 16), can be preserved by them only through faithful perseverance in faith and love, and without which it will be necessarily broken (15, 6; comp. 17, 12).

4. This spiritual communion with the Lord is not attainable without the new birth (John 3, 5–8). Just as in the Synoptical Gospels He requires an entire change of mind, so here a being born of God, without which it is impossible to see the kingdom of God. The necessity of this birth lies in the absolute unfitness of the carnal man, i. e., man as he is by nature, for a spiritual kingdom of God. Its origin is as mysterious, but also as easy to be recognized, as the agency of the wind in the natural world, and its possibility is given in what God has done and does through Christ to give new life to mankind.

5. The communion with Christ which is thus produced manifests itself in rich and glorious fruits (15, 6). Whoever is his disciple, learns to understand the truth and becomes through it free from sin (8, 32–36). But he becomes at the same time the partaker of a life, which is different in every thing from that which he formerly led. It is a life rich in joy (15, 11; 16, 22), and at the same time in abundant fruit by which God is glorified (15, 8). The noblest of these fruits is mutual brotherly love, which in this form is the new commandment of Christianity, and the unchangeable sign of the disciples of the Lord (13, 34. 35), and is preëminently necessary in the midst of a world, which in virtue of its character cannot

but hate his genuine disciples (15, 9–16). Love stands, moreover, in the closest connection with their personal sanctification, which constitutes the end for which our Lord gave himself to death (17, 17–19), and which reveals itself preëminently in the faithful observance of his commandments (15, 14) and the careful imitation of the example of ministering love, which He himself bequeathed to his disciples before his departure (13, 13–17).

6. Such a moral elevation would be unattainable, if the communion with Christ were destroyed by his death. It is modified indeed by his departure from earth, but by no means ended. On the contrary he promises before his death the Holy Spirit (14, 16. 17) and repeats this promise in a symbolical manner, after his resurrection (20, 22). In regard to the nature of the Holy Spirit, our Lord expressly distinguishes Him both from Himself and from the Father (14, 16). He calls Him the Spirit of truth, of the Father (15, 26), the Paraclete, who remains with and in his disciples forever (14, 16). In this Spirit, He himself invisibly comes to his followers, although absent from them in body (14, 18).

7. The agency of the Holy Spirit is connected partly with his disciples, partly with the world, and partly with Himself (16, 7–15). The disciples are reminded through his influence of what was before spoken; led, in respect to present things, to the knowledge of all truth; and enlightened, so far as is necessary, in regard to the future of the kingdom of God. The world is assured by his mission of the sin of rejecting Christ, of the righteousness of his cause, and of the judgment executed upon its prince (16. 8–11). He himself is thereby glorified (vs. 14) and manifested in his exalted dignity. But since this mission and work of the Holy Spirit is impossible so long as He himself remains on earth, his departure is no loss, but rather a priceless gain to his disciples (14, 28; 16, 7).

8. This agency of the Holy Spirit takes the place indeed of the earthly ministry of the Lord, but by no means excludes his personal ministry in heaven. It has been sometimes incorrectly maintained, that according to the fourth Gospel the reign of Christ consists only in the reign of the Spirit of truth, so that we can properly speak of no farther agency or rule of

the Ascended One. But the Holy Spirit is sent only at the intercession of the Son (14, 16); He himself it is who will do what his disciples ask in his name (14, 14); He sends the Spirit from the Father (15, 26), and brings the sheep which belong to another fold (10, 16). Such expressions would not have the shadow of propriety, if He who uttered them was not fully conscious that He would ever live for his disciples and constantly act upon them; it cannot however be denied that this ministry is here rather presupposed than described at length. The same thought also lies at the foundation of the figurative representation of his going away to prepare a place for them (14, 2). In the Holy Spirit He himself comes and remains forever with his disciples, until He reveals himself in still higher glory at the end of the world.

Comp. Reuss, II. p. 415; Schmid, II. S. 293 ff.; Tischendorf, *de Christo, pane vitae*, Joh. 6, 41–59, Leipz., 1839; Van Teutem, "*The last night of the Lord*," Rotterd., 1850; Wörner, "*The relation of the Spirit to the Son of God, exhibited from the Gospel of John*," Stuttg., 1862.

Questions for Consideration.—What is the sense of John 6, 44?—Whence is it that in the fourth Gospel, no parables, properly so called, occur?—Does John 6, 41–59 shed any light upon the Lord's Supper?—Is the washing of feet in John 13, 13. 14, prescribed by our Lord to his disciples as a permanent rite?—In what sense is the commandment in Chap. 13. 34 spoken of as new?—Survey and criticism of the principal explanations of the Lord's farewell promise in respect to his coming and return.—Connection and difference of the work of the ascended Jesus and of the Paraclete, according to the Johannean Christ.—Is there any good reason to doubt that the conception of a mystical union of the glorified Jesus with his disciples proceeded from Him? What is the meaning of Chap. 16, 26?

§ 22.

The Son of God in his Future.

The eternal life, which is here a fruit of the personal, abiding communion with Christ, survives the death of his

disciples and passes after that event into everlasting blessedness. According to the Johannean Christ, likewise, we are to expect a resurrection of the dead, a general judgment and an irrevocable decision at the last day.

1. According to the steady representation of the fourth Gospel, the believer in Christ has already, in this world, eternal life. It consists in the right knowledge of God and Christ (17, 3) and in the satisfaction of all the wants of the soul which flows therefrom (6, 35). Expressions however are not wanting, which show that this eternal life is not enjoyed exclusively here below. In passages like John 4, 14; 6, 27; 12, 25, it is clear that our Lord thought also of the "beyond." Yet generally in this Gospel He comprehends under eternal life all that salvation, which is received at once by his disciples upon their coming into communion with Him, and which stands in direct opposition to being lost forever (10, 28).

2. This life is, from its very nature, absolutely indestructible. He who possesses it has an imperishable and blessed life even before his death and still more after it. Instead of being annihilated, it ripens into undisturbed blessedness beyond the grave. In the Johannean Christ also, there is no trace of a sleep of the soul till the morning of the resurrection. On the contrary, when Martha expects her dead brother to live again at the last day and not before, our Lord assures her, that the believer who dies, does not thereby cease to live (11, 25. 26). To the question in regard to the nature of the blessedness enjoyed by his disciples on the other side of the grave, He gives in reply significant hints. The higher life is guarded and secured even by the sacrifice, if necessary, of the natural life (12, 25). Whoever serves Him is honored of the Father, shall be where He is, and in union with all the redeemed shall behold his glory (12, 26; 17, 24). As a friend He hastens before to prepare a place for his disciples in the many mansions of his Father's house, and invisibly appears in the hour of death, to take them forever to himself (14, 1–3).

3. The continuance of the life, however, in which death is never seen (8, 51) is not the completion of blessedness. In the fourth Gospel, likewise, our Lord speaks of a resurrection and

a judgment at the last day (τῇ ἐσχατῃ ἡμέρᾳ, 5, 27–29; 6, 39. 40. 44. 54; 12, 48); a resurrection absolutely universal, a judgment which the Father has committed to Him and at which his own word will be the standard. These hints are so brief and sporadic that it is not easy, it must be admitted, to harmonize them completely with the declarations already considered. But this does not authorize us either to remove them from the Gospel as the interpolation of a later hand (SCHOLTEN), or, to weaken the obvious sense of the words and explain them as referring to a merely spiritual resurrection or a merely individual judgment; and all the less, since our Lord repeatedly promises in one and the same breath the having eternal life and the resurrection at the last day (6, 40. 54), so that in his estimation the one does not exclude the other, but on the contrary the second is the crown of the first. The question, how a resurrection of those who are already partakers of eternal life can be spoken of, since they are in fact spiritually raised, admits of no difficulty if we only distinguish between the spiritual reviving, and the resurrection of the dead body, which, according to the constant teaching of our Lord, will not take place till his final coming.

4. Although in John He certainly in general represents his coming as spiritual, yet once at least (21, 22) He speaks of it in a way, which renders it difficult to understand his final appearance in any other sense than that in which his return is constantly spoken of in the Synoptical Gospels—a proof that, even in the matter of eschatology, the discrepancy, so often alleged, between the declaration of the Synoptical and the Johannean Christ is not absolute, but relative. The vivid imagery of the former is sought for in vain in the fourth Gospel, but not the leading thought which governs all.

5. The Johannean Christ, also, teaches no restitution of all things in the sense which has been at a later period attached to this word. When he promises that, lifted up on the cross, he will draw all men to himself (12, 32), there is no ground for conceiving of such an irresistible force as finally to secure the necessary salvation of absolutely all. The prince of this world is judged (12, 31), which no more means to be annihilated than to be saved, but *cast out*, so that he is henceforth powerless to

destroy the harmony of the completed kingdom of God. The unbeliever dies in his sins (8, 24) and no further prospect of life is ever opened to him. Under one Shepherd all are to be gathered into one fold (10, 16), but only all of the sheep, who willingly hear his voice of love. The resurrection of life stands in irreconcilable opposition to that of damnation (5, 28. 29), and although no Hades or Gehenna is spoken of in the fourth Gospel, it is difficult to suppose that in the mind of the speaker or writer the miserable ones who will rise to condemnation are to be found anywhere but there.

Comp. Reuss II, p. 453 sqq.; Schmid I, S. 321 ff.; Molster, in the periodical, *Bijdr. tot bevord. van Bijb. uitlegk*, Deel III, bl. 287 sqq. On John 5, 28. 29 and kindred passages, Scholten, *Jaarb. voor wetensch. Theologie*, Deel VIII, bl. 341 sqq.

Questions for Consideration:—The connection between eternal life and knowledge, the loss of life and the saving of life, temporal death and spiritual life.—The idea of θάνατος in the fourth Gospel.—Is there reason to conceive of the κρίσις here mentioned as exclusively taking place on this side the grave?—Connection and difference of the two ideas—eternal life, and resurrection at the last day.—Does the Johannean Christ teach us to expect a total annihilation, or an endless punishment of the obstinate sinner?

CHAPTER III.

Higher Unity.

§ 23.

Difference and Agreement.

The difference between the declarations of the Synoptical and the Johannean Christ is throughout not of such a nature that the impartial investigator can regard either the one or the other series as only genuine and credible. On the contrary, after careful comparison, the higher agreement on almost every point is evident, and the relatively great difference not only admits of full explanation, but is even to be regarded in more than one respect as exceedingly important.

1. The distinction, in consequence of which the teachings of the Johannean Christ required a separate treatment (§ 17, 1), is entirely justified by the issue. It is evident at every turn that the language of our Lord in the fourth Gospel is wholly different from what he spoke in the three first. But it does not absolutely follow from this, that in John we are listening to an entirely different Christ from the one in the earlier Gospels. This would be the case only if we should find Him denying in the one record what he had affirmed in the other, or *vice versa*. But at every turn it is plain that here is no difference like that between yea and nay, but rather like that between more and less, and it is absolutely impossible to refute the sayings of the Synoptical Christ by appealing to those of the Christ in the Gospel of John, whenever at least both are properly considered in the light of history. The difference is reduced to its true proportions in the remark of Godet: "In respect to the religious side of the contrast, it is remarkable that the conscience of the Church has never been embarrassed, and that it is only the learned who have declared it to be in-

capable of solution. This fact proves in any case that for the believing and pious heart the Jesus of the Synoptical Gospels never has been and never will be any other than that of John. The difference, therefore, does not reach the depths of the religious and moral life."* The justness of this remark will appear, whenever we consider the form, and much more when we take into view the import of the words of our Lord in John, as compared with what we find in the Synoptical Gospels. In both respects the difference is great, but still it is merely relative and susceptible of a full explanation.

2. In regard to the form, the great similarity between the language of John himself and of Jesus as given by John (comp. § 17, 3) may be explained, partly by the strong spiritual affinity between the Master, and the pupil who had formed his style upon the language of his teacher; partly by the Apostolic freedom with which, under higher guidance, he penned the discourses of the Lord. The absence of parables in the fourth Gospel becomes less surprising, when we observe that we here meet the Lord for the most part not standing in opposition to the Galilean crowd, but to the Jews of Jerusalem, and further that the metaphors (παροιμίαι) here employed are so much extended that they now and then approach the form of of the parable. Besides, the metaphors and parables are both taken from the natural world and from daily life, and the position that the Johannean Christ "borrowed absolutely nothing from the natural world" is, to say the least, entirely destitute of proof. Moreover, the pithy, pregnant and apparently paradoxical, which here frequently characterize his words, are by no means wanting also in the Synoptical Gospels. Misunderstanding of his utterances, which here also gives occasion to further explanation, is likewise met with in the three first Gospels (see, *e. g.*, Matt. 16, 6. 7; 19, 10. 11; comp. 22, 45). The greater uniformity in the discourses of our Lord in John results from the more rigid plan on which the Gospel is constructed, in consequence of which the writer was naturally led to a more limited selection from the rich material at hand (comp. 20, 31; 21, 25). In part, at least, these discourses are not less occasional and various than those in the other Gospels;

* See his *Examen des princip. Quest.*, etc., p. 48.

and that the Jewish (or, rather, Israelitish) character is by no means discarded by the exalted Speaker, we learn, partly from the letter (4, 22; 5, 45. 46; 7, 37. 38), and still more from the spirit and tendency of his never to be forgotten utterances.

3. In regard to the contents, it is absolutely without proof that the idea of God from which Jesus proceeds in the fourth Gospel is essentially different from that presented by Him in the Synoptical writings. In both He distinctly represents God to his disciples as His and their Father, and recognizes as children of God those only who morally exhibit his image and character (Matt. 5, 9; comp. John 8, 42). In both he represents this God, also, as having a fatherly compassion toward the sinner (John 3, 16; comp. Matt. 18, 10–14), and man, as unable to save himself, but yet ever capable of salvation through higher power. In both He promises and prepares this salvation in a kingdom of God, which although designed for all, comes first to Israel, and for which, in the midst of this nation especially, preparation is carefully made through the Old Testament dispensation. The relation, also, of that kingdom to the kingdom of darkness, and the character of the latter, are in both the same (Luke 10, 18; comp. John 12, 31); and, finally, our Lord always remains like himself in the exhibition which he makes of the way to become a member of his kingdom (comp., *e. g.*, Matt. 5, 6; 7, 21; 11, 28; 18, 3 with John 6, 35; 7, 37; 13, 14, 17).

4. A comparison of what is testified by the Synoptical and Johannean Christ concerning his own person and work leads to the same conclusion. The former possesses, also, a superhuman character and dignity (§ 11, 5), while the latter calls and shows himself man in the full sense of the word (§ 18, 3). As such, according to both accounts, He manifests higher knowledge, but no unlimited omniscience (comp. Mark 11, 13 with John 11, 14); spotless purity, united, however, with human susceptibility to temptation (Matt. 16, 23; comp. John 6, 15; 12, 28); in a word, Divine majesty, but in the humble form of a servant (Luke 22, 27; comp. John 13, 14). Coming as a teacher (Matt. 23, 8; comp. John 18. 14), he preaches in Jerusalem and in Galilee one and the same Gospel, and appeals to the same credentials in support of his authority. Both here

and there we find him ascribing to his miracles a very essential and yet not supreme confirmation of his Divine mission, and condemning the unbelief which rejects him, as absolutely inexcusable (Matt. 11, 20–24; comp. John 7, 24). Not his own honor, but that of the Father (Mark 5, 19; comp. John 7, 18) and the salvation of all the lost (Luke 10, 19; comp. John 6, 37) is the chief end at which he aims. Living and teaching for this, for this also, according to the will and counsel of God (Matt. 26, 54; comp. John 10, 17. 18), He will suffer and die. His suffering and death is, on the one side, a lot to which, although not without deep feeling, He obediently submits (Matt. 26, 38; comp. John 12, 27. 28), and on the other, an act which, with the highest freedom, He performs (John 14, 31; comp. Matt. 26, 46). In regard to the causes, ends and results of this suffering and death, the Johannean Christ teaches in substance nothing but what the Synoptical Christ had already declared (§ 14, 7; comp. § 20, 6). The little, also, that he says in the fourth Gospel concerning his resurrection, cannot, without great violence, be explained otherwise than as referring to a bodily rising from the dead, and in that, as well as in the Synoptical Gospels, his abiding personal relation to his disciples, even after his departure from earth, is most explicitly promised (§ 11, 5; comp. § 21, 8).

5. The greatest difference appears undoubtedly in the sphere of eschatology. But even where the difference is at once manifest, the relative harmony in the background is not sought for in vain. In neither account is it denied that the pious live and are blessed immediately after death (Luke 16, 23; 20, 38; comp. John 11, 25); while in both, a bodily resurrection at the last day, is assumed or promised, even of those, who are already possessors, here, of the higher life (§ 16, 5; comp. 22. 3). On the mountain in Galilee (Matt. 7, 21–23; comp. 25, 31 sqq.) and at the feast in Jerusalem (John 5, 24–29) our Lord announces himself as the future Judge, exalted above every creature, but at the same time conscious of his absolute dependence upon the Father (Matt. 24, 36; comp. John 14, 28). According to both accounts, he promises the same future salvation (Luke 12, 37; comp. John 12, 26) to be gained by each of his disciples in the same way of self-denial and suffering (Matt. 16, 25;

comp. John 12, 25). In neither does he give to the unconverted sinner a prospect either of final annihilation or of the diminution or termination of the future punishment. His coming, in the one account, generally but not exclusively represented under physical imagery, in the other more spiritually, stands forth as the glorious consummation of all things.

6. There are undoubtedly particular leading thoughts in the teachings of our Lord found sometimes only in John and sometimes exclusively in the Synoptical Gospels. Could it be otherwise, when neither of the Evangelists aimed, in this respect, at systematic unity and still less at completeness? Yet the additions of John are merely the supplement and crown of what the other Evangelists had penned; and in respect to what he has omitted, it must never be forgotten that there was no need of repeating what he might presume to be sufficiently well known from their writings. Many a peculiarity of the teachings of our Lord in the Gospel of John is quite satisfactorily explained by its historical connection. When, for example, He calls the law of love "a new commandment" (John 13, 34), while elsewhere it is represented as old and well known (Matt. 22, 39), it is because our Lord in the first instance is speaking not of universal love to our neighbor, but of Christian brotherly love, which his disciples, in imitating his example, are ever to exercise. If Jesus speaks of prayer in his name only in John (16, 23), he does so only in his parting discourse on the last evening of his life, which is not recorded by the other Evangelists. If, on the other hand, the idea of the forgiveness of sins stands here almost entirely in the background (comp. however John 20, 23), the historical connection, in which our Lord speaks concerning it in the Synoptical Gospels, does not occur in John, although the exhibition of the love of God even towards the guilty and those deserving of punishment, is here made with certainly no less impressiveness. Our Lord unquestionably speaks at greater length in John than in the other Gospels, concerning the promise and the work of the Holy Spirit, but in both accounts he promises the Holy Spirit to his disciples, as well before as after his death (John 20, 22; comp. Luke 24, 49), and the help which they are encouraged to expect bears in both fundamentally the same character (John 14—16; comp.

Matt. 10, 19. 20). Thus at every turn is manifest anew the truth of the remark: "the profound discourses, which St. John reports, are the development of the energetic and concise words, which the three first Evangelists took by preference" (De Pressensé). Or, in the language of another critic, whose convictions have forced him to abandon the Tübingen school to which he once belonged, "the record of the discourses of Jesus in the three first Gospels requires to be filled out by the discourses in John" (A. Ritschl).

7. While the undeniable difference between the doctrine of the Synoptical and the Johannean Christ is neither absolute nor incapable of explanation, it is for more than one reason important. It is an undesigned, but incontestable proof of the unsearchable riches of Christ (Eph. 3, 8), which could be wholly exhausted by none of the Evangelists. It confirms moreover the credibility of the writers, who even if they were not unacquainted with each other's productions, worked each from his own point of view, with equal independence and accuracy. It places in our hands, finally, the key to the phenomenon, that from the simple doctrine of Jesus, with all its depth, such a rich variety of Apostolic doctrines could proceed. Because the teaching of our Lord was so many-sided, it was capable of being the starting point of more than one announcement, in which now one and then another side of the Gospel could be made prominent, and still the preacher not be untrue to the spirit or the aim of the Master. The ground before us is productive enough to bear various plants which reach different degrees of height, but obviously belong to the same class and bear similar fruits.

Comp. Borger, *de constanti et aequabili J. C. indole*, H. C. 1816; Van Oosterzee, "*Christology*" II. bl. 113–121, "*Life of Jesus*" I. bl. 147, and "*The Gospel of John*," bl. 57–112; De Pressensé, *Jesus Christ, his time*, etc. pp. 291–306; De Rougemont, "*Christ and his witnesses*," Par. 1856, I. p. 137 sqq.; Godet, "*Commentary*" II. p. 750–770; Beischlag, in the work already cited, S. 65 ff., where it is correctly observed: "All the principal topics of the discourses in John occur also in the Synoptical Gospels, only in scattered and partially lost traces. As certainly, however, as Christ must have exhibited

them with unspeakably more richness than they are given in the Synoptical Gospels, so certainly in this respect does the comparison of the Synoptical Gospels and John always in the end confirm anew the authenticity of the latter."

Questions for Consideration.—In what respects is the doctrine of the Synoptical Christ illustrated and confirmed by that of the Johannean?—In what consists the difference and the agreement between the παραβολή in the Synoptical Gospels and the παροιμία in John?—Is the appellation, *Son of man*, used by Jesus in both, in the same sense?—How is it to be accounted for, that our Lord in the fourth Gospel speaks so much earlier than in the three first, of his Messianic dignity, his death and his resurrection?—On what points is He silent in John, on which He speaks more or less fully in the Synoptical Gospels, and what inference may be drawn from this?—Criticism of the different views and explanations (LANGE, GODET) of the peculiarity of the utterances of Jesus which are found only in John.—Exhibition of the harmony of our Lord's declarations, reported by John and the Synoptical writers, in the history of the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Jesus.—Importance of the result gained, in the department of the Christian evidences.—The careful comparison of the didactic import of the Synoptical and Johannean Gospels steadily demanded from the Biblical Theologian of the present day, and a field in which many a weed is to be rooted out, but also much precious fruit to be gathered.

§ 24.

Result.

In their harmonious diversity the teachings of our Lord, as recorded by the four Evangelists, are on the one hand the explanation, extension and fulfillment of the word of God, spoken by Moses and the Prophets; on the other, the foundation and the point of departure of a series of Apostolic testimonies concerning the way of salvation, which in turn under various forms, contain, interpret and strengthen His.

1. At the close of this our second division, we naturally look back to the Old Testament foundations laid in the first. The impression made by the study of the teachings of our Lord, whether we listen to them in the Synoptical Gospels or in John, can hardly be better expressed than in a reverential Amen to the declaration in the Sermon on the Mount: "I am not come to destroy the law, or the prophets, but to fulfill" (Matt. 5, 17). If the contrast between the Old and the New Testament is undeniable, the connection between the words of our Lord and those of Moses is, if possible, still more striking. In the first place, we here receive an explanation of many a mysterious word in the Old Testament, the great significance of which is not to be denied by any one who regards the Lord in the light in which, according to all the Evangelists, he has so often presented himself. In the next place, we find the instructions of earlier times on the most important points of faith and practice, so far amplified and filled out, that to many questions there merely propounded, the most satisfactory answer is here given. And finally, we meet, as in the deeds and the experiences of Jesus, so also in his words, a fulfillment of the earlier promises and expectations, which does not possibly admit of explanation from a purely natural and accidental course of events. Thus the words of THE WORD, in some respects, never before heard, are in another sense merely a loud echo of the strongest prophetic utterances, and the Old Testament vindicates its honorable title of "a great prophecy—a type of Him, who was to come and has come" (DE WETTE).

2. Because the teachings of our Lord constitute a vital unity, they are characterized by anything rather than a dead uniformity. It might therefore be expected *a priori* that the words of the Apostles would be something more than a mechanical repetition of his testimony, and *a posteriori* it will appear that we have here before our eyes nothing less than a new (but not for eign) world of thought. "In the didactic discourses of Jesus, we have the pregnant germ and kernel, the root, the simple but firm foundation; in the Apostolic teaching, as found in the other New Testament writings, we have the buds and branches, the plants sprung from the germ; we have the completed building, which rests upon that simple but firm foundation. The

Apostolic doctrine is vital and energetic; the discourses of our Lord in the Gospel original, pregnant, clearly exhibit the stamp of their primitive form; the Apostolic doctrine is suited as much to its more fully developed relations, as the didactic discourses of our Lord corresponding to the relations of his personal life" (SCHMID). Our investigation from this point will be a steady proof of the truth of the above remark.

Comp. VAN OOSTERZEE, "*Christology*" I. 33, sqq. and II. bl. 130, sqq.; LUTTERBECK, II. S. 121 ff.; SCHMID, II. S. 7; BAUR, S. 122–126.

Questions for Consideration.—How far are the declarations of Jesus himself confirmed by the results of our investigation concerning his relation to the Old Testament?—Jesus as an expounder of the words of Moses and the Prophets.—The interpretation of the Scriptures by Jesus, and later hermeneutics.—What is there properly new in the Gospel of the kingdom in the Synoptical writers and in the testimony of the Johannean Christ concerning himself?—What in respect to the doctrine concerning faith?—What in that concerning morals and practice?—Does the teaching of Jesus stand in one and the same relation to that of all the Apostles and their associates?—Transition to the treatment of the Theology of the Apostles.

PART III.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE APOSTLES.

§ 25.

General Survey.

The study of the Theology of the Apostles extends, so far as we can speak of it, to the doctrinal system of all those men whose testimony concerning the Lord Jesus Christ is recorded in the New Testament, and is to us, on historical grounds, of inexpressible value. In the study of this testimony, likewise, we must not overlook either the undeniable diversity or the higher unity of the different witnesses, and in conducting the investigation we must observe a methodical order, and ascend from the simplest to the more composite and developed doctrines.

1. In the strict sense of the word the name of Apostles can be given only to the twelve, who were called by the Lord himself to the Apostolate (Luke 6, 13) and to whom, on the death of Judas, Matthias was added (Acts 1, 26). Yet along with these Paul also claims this title of honor (Gal. 1, 1), which is given, moreover, to the associates and friends of our Lord's first witnesses (Acts 14, 14; Gal. 1, 19) and once even to Jesus himself (Heb. 3, 1). We follow this example the more readily since the larger number of the Apostles properly so-called have left us nothing in writing. We investigate here, therefore, the doctrinal teachings of all the writers of the New Testament, and only of these. Those of a spirit akin to theirs, whose writings are not received into the sacred Canon, are not included therefore in the sphere of our inquiry.

2. The distinction between the Theology of Jesus Christ and that of the Apostles is the fruit of a better conception of the

inspiration of the sacred writers. On the theory of a mechanical inspiration, it was quite a matter of indifference, whether a passage of Scripture occurred in the Old or the New Testament or whether it proceeded from the Lord himself or from one of his witnesses: it was enough that it stood in the Bible. A more historical view of the Scriptures has prepared the way for a juster distinction, and one unquestionably in the spirit of our Lord of and his Apostles.

3. The question concerning the binding authority of the Apostolic testimony in regard to Christian faith and life belongs not to the region of historical but of systematic Theology. But even on the ground of the former, it is easy to see that the word of witnesses like these, who stood nearest of all to Christ, cannot be too closely studied (comp. John 19, 35; Acts 1, 21; 2 Pet. 1, 16). It may be admitted that some of the Apostles were not, by nature, highly endowed or extraordinary men. But the priority of their testimony, reflecting, as it does, the first impression made upon receptive minds, insures to them a position entirely peculiar; and certainly we do injustice to their writings, if we regard them as only partially successful attempts to express Christian truths as well as they could, but presently giving place to other and in part better statements and additions (Reuss). The stream is certainly purest close to the source and when the question is in respect to the witnesses of historical and religious facts, the illiterate man even, who has fairly received the first impression, takes precedence of the more cultivated, who subsequently philosophizes, with ability, perhaps, but—at the distance of centuries. Still the Apostolic testimony concerning Christ cannot be unconditionally placed on the same line with his own. There is here a difference similar to that between the entire Messianic and Apostolic period. Their words must be tested by that of the Master, not *vice versa*. But although to this degree below his, their teachings stand far above those of subsequent writers. What a difference between the Christian literature of even the second century and that of the first!

4. The source, from which the knowledge of the theology of the Apostles is drawn, is the Scripture of the New Testament. "What further we know from other reports can in any case be

introduced only subordinately" (MESSNER). In regard to the relation in which our investigation stands to the New Testament Introduction, we have already spoken (§ 1, 4). The Biblical theologian who defends the supra-naturalistic view is not called to consider doubts in respect to the trustworthiness of the New Testament records until they give evidence of a better origin than the partisanship of a narrow naturalistic criticism. On the other hand he must not hold back the light which the investigation of the didactic contents of the New Testament books may help to shed upon their genuineness.

5. The question, how far it is possible to regard the theology of the Apostles, drawn from these sources, as one whole, cannot be answered without some preliminary remarks. It is known that the doctrine of the Apostles is transmitted to us in a number of types of doctrine (*τύποι διδαχῆς*) but never in a strictly connected system. When we speak of theology, therefore, we mean only "the sum of single doctrinal statements united in a congruous and systematic whole" (FROMMANN). Such a theology may be constructed with the greater ease, the larger the number of statements in the writings of an Apostle which express his doctrinal views. No one would think, for example, of placing on the same level, in this respect, the writings of James or Jude with those of Paul. The unity, moreover, of the Apostolic doctrine is anything but mere uniformity, and it must be reckoned among the merits of the modern Supranaturalism that it has had an eye and heart for the rich variegation of thoughts found in the different New Testament writers. But still this variegation does not justify the position "that in fact there was very little unity of doctrinal belief among the Apostles" (PIERSON), as if they furnish us with various limbs but no body,—mere loose stones, too various in size and form for one building. Nothing, certainly, is easier than to set a number of isolated Apostolic declarations in apparent opposition to each other, and then to speak of the conflicting views of the New Testament writers.* But such an anatomical criticism which shows how to separate, but not how to combine, and in its exclusive attention to every particular tree, fails to take into

* As is done, for instance, by PIERSON, *Oorsprong der mod Rigting*, 1862, pp. 144, 145.

account the whole forest, has shown itself in numerous instances as weak as it is one-sided; and the motto, *divide et impera*, may more fitly be inscribed upon the banner of the opponents of Christianity than it can be over the school of the theology of faith. What might *a priori* be expected, admits of being exegetically and historically justified: there is among the Apostolic writers a diversity of gifts, but a unity of spirit; they differ in respect to their starting point, method and depth, but agree in their belief, principles and expectations; their coloring is different, but not the original light; they vary in tone, but the harmony is rather improved than injured thereby. The Jewish-Christian theology of one author does not stand in irreconcilable antagonism to that of another with a more Hellenistic coloring, and the progress of investigation continually shows harmony to exist even where it was once denied or perhaps wholly overlooked. The lines of Göthe are more true than he himself was aware of:—

"Vom Himmel sterbend Jesus bracht
Des Evangeliums ewige Schrift,
Den Jüngern las er sie Tag und Nacht;
Ein göttlich Wort, es wirkt und trifft.

Er stieg zurück, nahm's wieder mit,
Sie aber hatten's gut *gefühlt*,
Und Jeder schrieb so Schritt für Schritt,
Wie er's in seinem Sinn behielt.

Verschieden: Es hat nichts zu bedeuten.
Sie hatten nicht gleiche Fähigkeiten;
Doch damit können sich die Christen
Bis zu dem jüngsten Tage fristen."

6. The main division of our subject has been already indicated (§ 3, 2) and must be justified by the entire progress of the investigation. In respect to its execution, what we have to do is neither to criticise nor to defend, but simply to give a correct objective exhibition of the doctrinal teachings of the Apostolic writers. This, however, must be done in the spirit of the writers themselves, and with careful attention to the peculiarity, leading thought and particular method of each. Instead, therefore, of placing the doctrinal teachings of the several writers in the same frame (e. g., Theology, Anthropology, Christology, Eschatology), the classification and analysis

of the ideas of Paul for instance must proceed quite differently from those of John and Peter. It is impossible to understand a witness for the truth, unless we distinctly recognize his point of view and fundamental conception. It is also important to notice, in respect to each particular doctrine, the genetic and psychological development of the thoughts of the writers, and thus also, so far as is necessary and possible, the chronological succession of his writings. Here, likewise, a sharp distinction between the dogmatic and ethical side of their teachings would be needless and injurious. Every doctrine, therefore, must first be considered in its several parts and as a whole, before we can promise ourselves the results we desire from the comparison of all.

7. In regard to the helps for this part of our inquiry and the spirit in which it should be prosecuted, we may refer to what has already been said (§ 2, 3; 3, 3). It will not be superfluous, however, to repeat the remark, that no one who studies the doctrine of the Apostles from a point of view in irreconcilable opposition to their own, can either understand or appreciate their testimony. The writings of the Apostles can be understood only in the light of the same Spirit, by whom they were originally inspired.

Comp. on the Theology of the Apostles in general, in addition to the works already mentioned (§ 2, 3), MATTHAEI, "*The Religious Faith of the Apostles of Jesus, in its Contents, Origin, and Value*," 2 Bde. Gött., 1826; DE PRESSENSÉ, *History of the three first centuries of the Christian Church:* also, by the same author, "*The Critical School and the Apostles*," Paris, 1866, (against Renan); and especially BONIFAS, "*Essay on the Unity of the Teachings of the Apostles*," Paris, 1866. On the unity of the Apostolic teachings, SCHLEIERMACHER, "*Hermeneutics*" (Lücke's ed.), S. 82; SCHAFF, *History of the Ancient Church*, New York, I. pp. 81–84.

Questions for consideration. — Origin, meaning and various uses of the word, Apostle.—Meaning of Luke 10, 16, comp. John 20, 21.—What may be gathered from the literature of the post-Apostolic age in regard to the teaching of the Apostles?—Which Apostolic doctrinal system appears, even on a

preliminary view, to be the deepest, fullest and richest?—What is necessary in order to penetrate as deeply as possible into an Apostolic doctrinal system?—Character of the Apostolic teaching compared with the most ancient patristic literature.

CHAPTER I.

The Petrine Theology.

§ 26.

Preliminary Survey.

The priority of the treatment of the Petrine theology is justified both by the special place which this Apostle occupies in the history of the first century of Christianity and by the peculiar character of his doctrinal teaching itself. Itself drawn from the purest sources, it is best learned from the first general epistle of Peter, compared with the Acts of the Apostles, although one or two of the epistles of Paul furnish important hints in regard to it. The second epistle of Peter, in this inquiry, is neither to be silently passed by, nor to be placed unconditionally on a level with the first, but must be separately studied and compared. The entire doctrinal teachings of this Apostle contained in the New Testament, exhibit the spectacle of a harmonious development and the marks of a strongly expressed, but sanctified individuality.

1. It is not arbitrary to begin our inquiry with the Petrine Theology. In ascending (§ 25) from the most simple to the more composite and developed forms of doctrinal statement, we can in no case commence with Paul or John. Neither can we assign the first place to James (Schmid), because his title to the name of Apostle, strictly so called, is more than doubtful, and his epistle bears an almost exclusively practical character.

Moreover Peter, as compared with James, much more strongly influenced the entire spirit of the Apostolic age. It was Peter who exerted an influence upon the earliest statement of the gospel, which is wholly unrecognized in the late romantic reconstruction of the history of the Apostles (RENAN). Even Paul subsequently built only upon the foundation laid by Cephas in the Jewish and Gentile world. If Rome has exalted him in a one-sided manner, it is ultra-Protestant injustice to overlook the special importance of his person and writings. In unison with Matthew, Mark, James and Jude he has furnished us with the purest expression of the original faith of the churches in Palestine.

2. The source from which the Apostolic writers drew their testimony in regard to the gospel was the same in all, but in each of them more or less modified. All were enlightened by the Holy Spirit, which led them into the sanctuary of truth, but all did not reach the same height of development and of spiritual life. Guided by this Spirit, Peter spoke distinctly as an eye-witness of the works and sufferings of the Lord (Acts 5, 32; 1 Pet. 5, 1). At the same time he quoted more than some others from the Old Testament, which, after the day of Pentecost, he evidently understood better than ever before. He also appeals to special revelation made to himself (Acts 10, 28; comp. 2 Pet. 1, 14). Above all, the ripe experience of his Christian life gives to his testimony a peculiar character and an indisputable value.

3. On a superficial view it might seem that, among the original documents from which our knowledge of the doctrinal teachings of Peter is to be drawn, the Acts of the Apostles must occupy the highest place. But even with the fullest recognition of the credibility of the latter, it is self-evident that a writing of the Apostle himself is more important for the end which we have in view than two or three of his discourses recorded by another after the lapse of years. On this ground we give the precedence among the sources from which we can learn his Theology, to the first epistle of Peter, since its genuineness is beyond all reasonable doubt, and since, moreover, it exhibits such an entirely subjective character.—By the side of this, however, we place the Acts of the Apostles, and follow this authority

with the greater confidence the more we observe, as we constantly do, that the Peter whom we here meet agrees in so many particulars with the author of the first epistle which bears his name. Compare especially Acts 2, 14–38; 3, 12–26; 4, 9–12; 5, 29–32; 10, 34–43; 11, 4–17; 12, 11; 15, 7–11. The Apostle Paul likewise has furnished important help towards a just knowledge of the direction and views of Peter. Not to speak of the similarity between several Pauline and Petrine propositions (exaggerated by the Tübingen school) we have only to think of 1 Cor. 1, 12; 9, 5; 15, 5 and of the statement in Gal. 2, 7–9 that Peter was an Apostle of the circumcision, one of the pillars of the Church, etc.

In respect to the second epistle, the modest assertion (Loman) "that no scholar can now be found who ventures to defend the genuineness of this epistle," is only an exposure of the peculiarity of a certain school which restricts the recognized "freedom of speech" to its own members. Various voices have been raised in the present century in vindication of its early contested genuineness. But even those who agree with these defenders are willing to admit that the difficulties brought forward in respect to this epistle are by no means imaginary. As the case now stands, it is neither advisable to pass it by in silence, nor without reservation, to place it on the same level with the first. If the former course betrays prejudice, the latter is unscientific; to exclude it would be premature, but to make a distinction is a duty. The difficulties in respect to this epistle, in their whole extent, must be left to the science of Introduction; the Theology of the New Testament has fulfilled its task whenever it has developed the theology of this epistle and compared it, in every point, with that of the first.

4. The Petrine Theology, as gathered from these different sources, exhibits the charming spectacle of a harmonious development. Even to the Apostles of the Lord and especially to our Apostle, life was constant progress. During a period of about thirty years the expression of the religious faith of Peter became constantly fuller, stronger and clearer. Never do we find him contradicting himself and needing to make a retraction, but everywhere making progress, which reminds us of the passage in Prov. 4, 18. 19. In Christology, for instance, from

Acts 2, 22 to 2 Pet. 3, 18—assuming the genuineness of the latter epistle—there is a glorious climax. The facts of the gospel, presented with emphasis in his earliest discourses, are also occasionally stated in a doctrinal form in all their force in his first epistle. Exhortations made by him in the beginning, we find him repeating towards the end, not in a feebler but in a stronger tone. Throughout, the literal fulfillment of the promise of the Lord, John 16, 13, is evident, while the comparison of the Apostle's testimony with itself at various periods in his life is, moreover, an incidental argument in favor of the credibility of his declarations.

5. No less manifest are the traces of a strongly expressed but sanctified individuality in the doctrinal teachings of this Apostle. In the Gospel History he stands, as is well known, prominently in the foreground, and has a mental physiognomy not easily to be confounded with that of any other. Peter is the impulsive disciple, the man of feeling, whose thinking is not in abstract forms, but who prefers to deal with the concrete, and uniformly lives "in the sphere of the immediate." Of such a man it is not to be expected that he will write much, argue at length, or exhibit all sides of the same idea. He will more easily move in a circle of historical than of speculative ideas, follow others without difficulty in the order and form of thought, and in some respects be inferior to more distinguished associates. We actually find all this to a certain degree in the discourses and epistles of Peter; even after his conversion, he is one of those "unlearned and ignorant men" (Acts 4, 13) by whom the form of the moral world has been changed. His testimony is exactly what we should expect from Simon Peter from what we know of his history. But this sharply-cut individuality is aglow with the fire of a zeal and a love which alone could enable him thus to testify.

6. We become somewhat further acquainted with this individuality through the important address, with which Peter, before the day of Pentecost, but yet initially moved by the Holy Spirit (John 20, 22) introduced the election of Matthias (Acts 1, 15–22). He at once exhibits the consciousness of his calling, in common with all the Apostles, to be a witness of the Lord Jesus, and especially of his resurrection (vs. 22). In this brief address he repeatedly appeals to the prophetic Scriptures

(vv. 16. 20), and thus shows also that he takes a purely Israelitish point of view. Finally, he is the man who, as early as possible, surveys and cares for the future (vs. 22), as if from the first he would vindicate his right to the honorable title of the Apostle of hope. As the principal thought of a symphony is intimated in its overture, so in these traits of the Apostle we learn in advance how he will exhibit himself in his subsequent speaking and writing. Simon Peter comes before us successively as an Apostle of Jesus Christ; as an Apostle of the circumcision; as the Apostle of hope.

.Comp. on the personality of Peter and his Theology in general, an article by LANGE in HERZOG'S *Real-Encyc.;* the commentaries of HUTHER (in Meyer), WIESINGER (in Olshausen), BESSER, FRONMÜLLER (in Lange), on the epistles of Peter; but especially WEISS, "*The Petrine Theology.*" Berl. 1855, and the literature there given, and also KOCH, *de Petri theologia, per diversos vitæ quam egit periodos, sensim explicata.* L. B. 1854.—On the first epistle more particularly, VAN TEUTEM, "*Survey of the first epistle of Peter.*" Leyden, 1861.—On the genuineness of the second, VAN OOSTERZEE, "*Christology of the New Testament,*" bl. 162–176, and WEISS, "On the Petrine question" in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1865 and 1866, who inclines strongly in its favor.

Questions for consideration.—The personality and character of Peter as they are known to us aside from his own words and writings.—The importance of his work in the doctrinal development of the Apostolic age.—Contents and value of later accounts concerning his doctrine (the Clementines).—The true idea of development in its application to the Apostolic theology.—How far can the personality of Peter be regarded as a source of his doctrine?—Is the proposal of Peter, Acts 1, 16–22, to be condemned, excused, or commended?

§ 27.

Peter, an Apostle of Jesus Christ.

As an Apostle of Jesus Christ, Peter, with increasing clearness, bears testimony in speech and by writing, to the unparalleled dignity and greatness of the Lord. The great facts of his

earthly and heavenly life he places emphatically in the foreground; even those which in the discourses and writings of the other Apostles are not at all or scarcely mentioned. The doctrinal statement and practical application of these facts he unites also to an increasing degree with their historical exhibition.

1. In the treatment of the Petrine theology it is most convenient to start from what Peter has in common with all the Apostles, and from this to proceed to what is peculiar to him. Like all the others he is a witness (μάρτυς) of Christ, although he is the only one who calls himself so (1 Pet. 5, 1), and it may be observed that the text of the testimony which he bears as such is to be found in his own words, Acts 4, 12. But the appearance of Christ, infinitely glorious and sublime, is not viewed by all of them from the same point. Of Peter it can very distinctly be said that he lays special emphasis upon its historical character. Without entering into deep abstract considerations in regard to the nature of the Lord, he exhibits His person at once in the light of history, and makes Him, so to speak, live on in his announcement.

2. Already on the day of Pentecost he commences with the exhibition of Jesus as the Nazarene living among his contemporaries, a man approved (proved) of God himself, by mighty works and miracles universally known (Acts 2, 22). He thus commences by placing him upon a level with the most eminent messengers of God, but only to exalt Him directly above them all as Him whom God has made both Lord and especially Christ (vs. 36). The great evidence of this position is found in his resurrection and in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, while his death on the cross is by no means passed over in silence, but is charged upon the Jews as a crime. By reason of this his Messianic dignity, the historical fact of our Lord's descent from David has for Peter special significance (2, 33). As promised to the fathers, He is called God's holy one (2, 27), the prophet (3, 22), God's holy child Jesus (παῖς, 3, 13. 26; 4, 27); a name not synonymous indeed with the more usual term, Son (υἱός) of God, which does not occur in Peter, but yet far above the title of servant (δοῦλος), which the Apostles are accustomed to give to

themselves, and borrowed from the prophetic representation of the perfect "servant of Jehovah."

Along with this theocratic dignity, Peter strongly exhibits the moral greatness and glory of the Lord. Christ is to him the Holy and Righteous One (Acts 3, 13. 14), of whose murder the whole nation is guilty. This is the impression made by the whole appearance of Christ upon the man, who once, with the confession of his own impurity, fell down at his feet (Luke 5, 8). Particularly in view of the sufferings of the Lord had he gazed with wonder upon his perfect sinlessness (1 Pet. 1 , 19 ; 2, 22. 23), as manifested especially in his self-control and untiring gentleness. Hence, also, it was that he exhibits not merely this suffering, as do all the others, as atoning, but also very expressly as an example (2, 21).

Nothing, however, is farther from the thought of the Apostle than that the Lord was only the best and greatest of men. In the historical appearance of Christ he shows us the marks of superhuman greatness. On the day of Pentecost, even, it was declared (Acts 2, 33), with evident reference to the words of Jesus himself, that He had "received of the Father" the promise of the Holy Ghost, and although his relation to the Father was not for the moment more particularly explained, it was set prominently forth in the first sermon to the Gentiles, that God was with Him in an entirely special sense. Still more strongly does this higher Christological element come out in the first epistle. The trinitarian distinction in 1 Pet. 1, 2 would have been as inappropriate as the joyful announcement of God as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (vs. 3), if the Lord in the Apostle's view was a mere man clothed with Messianic glory. The mention, also, of the Spirit of Christ, as previously present in the prophets (1, 11), would at least sound strange, if Peter had only wished to remark that the Spirit which animated the prophets was the same with which Christ was afterwards filled. The expression assumes rather an existence and a work in earlier times, and this assumption is strengthened still further, when we hear that the Lamb of God, although foreordained before the foundation of the world, was manifest in these last times (1, 20), which would scarcely have any meaning, if He had not previously existed. If to this we add that several

Old Testament declarations in respect to God are transferred without limitation to Christ (comp. 2, 3 with Ps. 34, 9; 3, 15 with Is. 8, 13), and that according to the most simple explanation Jesus Christ in 4, 11 is the subject of a solemn doxology, it is clear that the testimony of Peter in regard to the superhuman character of the Lord, although comparatively limited, is by no means ambiguous or unimportant.

3. Still it must be admitted that not so much the metaphysical as the historical side of the subject stands, with him, in the foreground, and if we now inquire on what fact the Apostle lays the chief emphasis, we must first of all speak of the Lord's resurrection. In all his addresses recorded by Luke, it is warmly maintained; what Peter desires every Apostle to be (Acts 1, 22), he is emphatically himself—a witness of the resurrection To him the Lord is the Prince of life (3, 15), especially as the Risen One, and it is to him a perfectly absurd thought, that He did not rise (2, 24). He firmly declares this in the presence of the Jewish council (4, 10), and far from fearing the objection that the Risen One did not show himself to all the people, he even mentions this fact, but sets against it his own eating and drinking and that of his fellow-witnesses with Jesus after his resurrection. In the beginning of his first epistle (1, 1–3) he unites the mention of the blessing of regeneration directly with that of the resurrection: a fact which admits of a full explanation the instant we remember what the joyful news of the resurrection was to the fallen Peter himself (Luke 24, 34). As he himself was thereby born again to a new life, so hope now first became through the resurrection a living, powerful hope. The resurrection and glorification of Christ stands in immediate connection with faith and hope in God (1, 21), and even baptism exerts only through this resurrection a saving power upon its recipient (3, 21). Since thus a risen Christ is to Peter most emphatically the Christ, it will not surprise us that he describes Him once in strong oriental imagery as "the living stone" (2, 4).

4. The principal fact of this marvelous history is, however, not the only one to which our Apostle directs the attention of his hearers and readers. While declaring that God has raised up his perfect servant (3, 26), he does not fail to state—what is found in the writings of no other Apostle—that God anointed

Him with the Holy Ghost and with power (Acts 10, 38). He refers probably to what occurred at the baptism of the Master (comp. Is. 42, 1; 61, 1), and does not forget to mention repeatedly his miracles (Acts 2, 22; 10, 38), including the healing of those possessed, while he magnifies the entire public life of the Lord as a constant series of benevolent deeds (Acts 10, 38). He manifestly cannot keep silent as to what he has seen and heard (Acts 4, 20). Especially when speaking of the suffering and death of Jesus, it is manifest at every step that he was an eyewitness. While in the Acts of the Apostles, standing in the presence of enemies, he regards it as a terrible crime of the Jews (yet not without palliation, see Acts 3, 17; comp. Luke 23, 34), he exhibits it in his epistle, speaking to Christians, as a revelation of the greatness of Christ, and as the source of the most glorious benefits. He often speaks of the cross as the tree or wood (τὸ ξύλον, Acts 5, 30; 10, 39; 1 Pet. 2, 24, perhaps referring to Deut. 21, 13), but what took place there—and this was to Peter himself certainly the first ray of light in the darkness—occurred according to the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God (Acts 2, 23). With this testimony in regard to the suffering of Christ (1 Pet. 5, 1), we have incidentally also particular features of the affecting history (Acts 3, 13. 14; 1 Pet. 2, 22. 23); the manner in which he mentions these too, clearly shows that he regarded this suffering in the light of the prophetic Scriptures, especially of Is. 53. Thus to him the offence of the cross ceased. Christ the righteous (comp. Is. 53, 11) had suffered for sins (1 Pet. 3, 18), and not only so, but in distinction from the sacrifices which must be often slain, had suffered once for all, and that not merely to give the most illustrious example, but thereby to take away sin (1 Pet. 2, 21–24). He suffered, hence, for (ὑπέρ) the unrighteous; and although the expression in itself does not express the idea of substitution, it is plain that Peter thinks of a suffering (1 Pet. 3, 18; 2, 24) by which others are delivered from sufferings which they deserve, or, in other words, of a vicarious endurance of punishment (comp. Lam. 5, 7). In consequence of this suffering, the followers of Christ are healed—ransomed with this price of blood from their former vain conversation, with the distinct aim that they should die unto sin, and live unto righteousness. First redeemed from the guilt and

penalty of sin, they are now redeemed from its dominion (1 Pet. 2, 24).*

5. Having once suffered for sin, Christ is thenceforth in no relation to sins; he who has suffered in the flesh (1 Pet. 4, 1) frees himself from the relation to sin and the world. No wonder that He who is dead according to the flesh is thereby made alive after the Spirit (i. e. what pertains to the Spirit). Death breaks the bonds which held the higher life in shackles, and introduces Him to a perfectly unfettered and blessed activity. It is this active work of the departed Spirit of the Lord, to which Peter repeatedly bears witness (1 Pet. 3, 19–21; 4, 6; comp. Acts 2, 31). Our plan will not allow us to state or discuss the various opinions held in all ages in regard to these enigmatical declarations. Enough, that we reject as entirely arbitrary the view that a work of the Spirit of the Lord by the mouth of Noah is spoken of, and also the opinion (Baur) that the spirits here referred to are the fallen angels (2 Pet. 2, 4). The Apostle manifestly speaks of a work of the spirit of the Lord himself, between his being made alive after the Spirit and his ascension into heaven (1 Pet. 19 and 22), by which the gospel of reconciliation was announced to the dead and particularly to the unhappy dead, one generation of whom is expressly named. Whether or not this work was limited to that one generation; in what form He executed it; what was its result—to all these questions the Apostle gives no answer. His only aim, plainly, is to show that Christ, who died for sin, did not remain inactive even after death, and thus to set in a clearer light the broad extent of the salvation revealed in Him. He even mentions this mysterious fact, not as something concealed and only communicated to him by revelation, but in passing, as a matter known to his readers equally with the death and resurrection of the Lord. It may thus be called a peculiar constituent part of the Gospel of Peter.

6. The suffering and death of Christ, which terminated with this work of his separate spirit, prepares the way for a glory, which not less than the suffering which preceded, is the deserved

* 1 Pet. 4, 1 does not here come into view, since the words, *for us*, are not found in the best MSS. Neither does 1 Pet. 1, 2 directly, at least if it is true, what we assume with Weiss and others, that the blood of Christ, with which believers are sprinkled, is here distinctly conceived of as the *blood of the covenant.*

object of the interest of angels (1 Pet. 1, 12). In the mind of Peter, as with our Lord himself (Luke 24, 26), His suffering and glory are most intimately connected. The latter has been already manifested in the resurrection, which Peter expressly represents as having taken place on the third day (Acts 10, 40), and therefore as a fact relating to the body, clearly different from the glorification of the Lord in heaven (1 Pet. 3, 21. 22). Of this exaltation, wrought by the right hand of God (Acts 2, 33), our Apostle professes to have been a witness, no less than of the resurrection which preceded it (Acts 5, 31. 32); it must therefore, according to his account, be regarded as a visible occurrence. From what he states also of its glory and results (1 Pet. 3, 22), it is absolutely clear that he could not have had in mind only a spiritual dominion in a figurative sense. The glorified Christ, also, continues to be personally active in the promotion of the highest interests of his followers. He is and remains the shepherd and overseer of their souls (1 Pet. 2, 25); although invisible, he is still the object of their constant love and joy (1 Pet. 1, 8), through whom alone their spiritual sacrifices can be acceptable to God (1 Pet. 2, 5).

7. Even if we go no farther, it is perfectly clear that the Christology of Peter, if not very ample, is still silent on no side of the person and the work of the Lord, and hence displays just the characteristics which, even taking into account only his first brief epistle, might be expected from an individuality like his. His entire representation entitles him to the honorable title of a witness and Apostle of Jesus Christ, while it shows also that he was a disciple of the Baptist (John 1, 35–42). This last remark leads us to consider another characteristic of the Apostle.

Comp., in addition to the works mentioned in the preceding section, "The Servant of the Lord," by C. J. Nitzsch in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1828.—On 1 Pet. 3, 19–21; 4, 6, Van Oosterzee, "*Christology*," II. 196–202; also Meyer's *Comm.* A valuable history of the interpretation of this passage will be found in Weiss, "*The Petrine Theology*," S. 216–227, and an essay by Holwerda, in the *Nieuwe Jaarbb.* VI. [Also by Rev. Thomas H. Skinner, D.D., on "Christ preaching to the Spirits in Prison," in the *Bib. Repository*, 2d series, vol. ix; and John Brown, D.D., on 1 Pet. 3, 18–21, in the *Bib. Sacra*, IV. pp. 709–744.]

Questions for consideration.—What is the meaning of Acts 4, 12?—Explanation of the fact, that in the first discourses of Peter more prominence is given to the resurrection than to the death of our Lord.—The Petrine representation of the appearance of Christ in the spirit-world compared with that in the Gospel of Nicodemus.—Supposed source and permanent value of this account.—What peculiar significance is attached in 1 Pet. 1, 21; 3, 21, to the resurrection of the Lord?—Does Peter also give intimations respecting the kind of relation between the glorified Lord and his followers?

§ 28.

Peter, the Apostle of the Circumcision.

Although Peter, as an Apostle of Jesus Christ, announces the salvation in Him as absolutely indispensable and entirely open to all, yet both the contents and the form of his teaching justly entitle him to the name of Apostle of the Circumcision (Gal. 2, 7), which must not, however, be taken in a one-sided particularistic sense.

1. That the salvation in Christ is for all indispensable, is made prominent and emphatic by Peter (Acts 4, 12). The *name* of Christ, so warmly mentioned especially in his first discourses (Acts 2, 38; 3, 6. 16; 4, 10. 12; comp. Luke 24, 47), is with him in the fullest sense the banner of salvation. A contrary view has erroneously been supposed to be given in the friendly words (Acts 10, 34. 35) addressed by him to Cornelius. He by no means affirms in those words that men who fear God are without distinction acceptable (δεκτός) to God and saved without Christ, but only that they are to be received into the kingdom of God and thus to be saved. Were it otherwise, why preaching and baptism for the whole heathen household? "Not indifferentism in regard to religions, but indifference, (impartially) in regard to the acceptance of nations is here affirmed" (Bengel).

2. This absolute indispensableness is the logical result of the universality of sin. In itself the doctrine of sin is but little developed in Peter. Of its origin he does not speak expressly. While Paul ascends to its source, Peter points to the turbid

stream. The sin of the Jewish people culminates before his sight in the rejection of the Messiah (Acts 2, 36). That of the heathen is the fruit of ignorance, which blinded them in their condition before the coming of Christ (1 Pet. 1, 14). While the carnal desires are in themselves sinful (4, 2), their manifestation in many a perverse form is especially in diametrical opposition to the will of God, and leads him who professes the gospel back to his former heathen position (4, 3–4). Even the Christian is still in constant danger of sinning (5, 8), and will not be saved without great difficulty (4, 18). In accordance with all this, there is both for Jews and Gentiles but one way of salvation—the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and without the burdensome yoke of the works of the law (Acts 15, 10. 11).

3. What is necessary for all, all may obtain. On the day of Pentecost he proclaims the salvation in Christ as provided for all men. Grace is preached to the greatest sinners among the Jews, and allusion is not obscurely made to the calling of the Gentiles (Acts 2, 39). If the thought of Peter at first was that the latter must be brought over the bridge of Judaism to the kingdom of God, after the revelation recorded in Acts 10 we see in his conception this limitation falling away. He even lays manifest emphasis upon the fact that God has broken down the wall of separation, by bestowing the Holy Spirit upon Jews and Gentiles alike, and purifying the hearts of both through faith. There is thus no ground for charging Peter with a narrow particularism, which drove him to see in the Jews, if not exclusively yet chiefly, the heirs of the kingdom of God. The remarkable declaration, Acts 3, 26, that God had sent his son Jesus first to the Jews (comp, John 4, 22), is a proof to the contrary.

4. The conditions, also, of participation in the salvation in Christ, are according to Peter extremely simple. In his discourse to the unbelieving Jews, we hear him, entirely in the spirit of the Baptist and of the Messiah, repeatedly exhort to repentance (Acts 2, 38; 3, 19). In this conversion is included faith, which in his preaching to Cornelius he presents as the chief requirement (Acts 10, 47), and which manifests itself by the willing submission to the rite of baptism, with which the reception of the forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit is connected (Acts 2, 38)—still not in such a way as if

the water in baptism had in itself a supernatural efficacy. Only to *that* baptism is value ascribed, which is united with the promise to keep a good conscience before God (1 Pet. 3, 21). Such a baptism saves, as the water of the flood saved the family of Noah in the ark, and those who submit to it begin even here to be partakers of the salvation (σωτηρία) in Christ. No one because of his earlier state, has any preëminence above another, for Christ is Lord of all (Acts 10, 36), and the Holy Spirit raises all who believe to the same freedom and equality (15, 8. 9).

5. Yet, purely Christian as all this is, the form in which the Apostle clothes these thoughts and still more their contents, present him to us as the Apostle of the Circumcision. Both in the book of Acts and in the Epistles, we see in him a man wholly penetrated with the spirit of the Old Testament and preferring to use its language. No part of the New Testament contains more citations from the Old Testament, or more references to it, than the first epistle of Peter. In the discourse on the day of Pentecost we hear him maintaining the resurrection and ascension of the Lord by appealing to the 16th and the 110th Psalm. In Acts 3, he exhibits him as the "Prophet," and in Acts 4, as the "stone" referred to in the Psalms. He summons all the prophets from Samuel onwards (Acts 3, 24) as witnesses; the whole of Christianity is to him the fulfillment of prophecy. It was revealed to the prophets that the things which they announced were not for themselves but for believers in Christ (1 Pet. 1, 12), and the Apostle who attests this has himself sat at their feet. With their own words, although not always mentioning them by name, he affirms and defends his position (see, e. g. 1 Pet. 1, 24. 25 comp. with Is. 40, 6–8; 2, 3 comp. with Ps. 34, 9; 3, 10–12 comp. with Ps. 34, 13–17; 4, 18 comp. with Prov. 11, 31; 5, 7 comp. with Ps. 55, 23). The chief requirement of the law (1, 16) and the promise of salvation in prophecy (2, 6) are expressly quoted, and prominent persons in the history of the Old Testament, Noah, for instance, with his household, Sarah in relation to Abraham, and even the holy women of antiquity in general are exhibited as examples to believers (3, 5. 6. 20. 21). They who walk according to these examples, are distinguished with Old Testament titles of honor elsewhere applied to Israel. They are styled "elect" (1, 2), "a

royal priesthood" (2, 9), and constitute together "the house of God" (4, 17). The word church or congregation (ἐκκλησία) does not here occur; but we find the terms "people of God" (2, 9. 10), and "flock of the Lord" (5, 2. 3), which are so often applied to Israel in the Prophets and Psalms, and invested, undoubtedly, in the mind of Peter with a special dignity (comp. John 21, 15–17). The Old Testament idea of election (comp. Deut. 7, 6) constantly appears in his discourses and epistles. So firmly, indeed, does our Apostle regard every thing from a teleological point of view, that he reverently recognizes the fulfillment of God's counsel, when the disobedient stumble at the word of his grace (2, 8).

6. In the doctrine concerning God, also, from which Peter sets out, the key-note is that of the Old Testament. It is unquestionably the privilege of Christians that they are entitled to call on God as their Father (1, 17)—it seems as if at this point the beginning of the Lord's prayer passed through his mind—but the Father passes sentence also as Judge, without respect of persons. He is the faithful Creator (4, 19), and next to this attribute of faithfulness, so much extolled at all times by the prophets of Israel, his power, holiness, omniscience and righteousness are especially made prominent. The Christ, the Son of God, is also here viewed less from the metaphysical than from the theocratic side, and if Peter is the only Apostle who calls him a *lamb* (ἀμνός), this too is borrowed from Isaiah (53, 7). The Holy Spirit, finally, is undoubtedly mentioned by Peter (Acts 5, 3. 4), but, as in the Old Testament, the doctrine of the Spirit is here but comparatively little developed.

7. The view of the Christian life, predominant in the utterances of our Apostle, exhibits essentially the same character. The fear of God, accompanied by works of righteousness, is that on which he especially insists (2, 17; comp. Acts 10, 35). The name of children (1, 14) and even of little children (2, 2) is given indeed to the redeemed—Israel also was addressed under the old dispensation by the same tender appellation—but still they ever are and remain servants of God (δοῦλοι, 2, 16), and are called to walk in fear (1, 17). Believing and obeying are with Peter correlative terms (1, 2; 2, 7), and not filial love so much as filial awe is the key-note of the spiritual life here described.

Although the yoke of the law is broken (Acts 15, 10), its requirements still remain the rule for the life and conduct of the disciples of the Lord (1 Pet. 3, 8–15). Thus serving God together, they discharge the duty which under the old dispensation was assigned to a particular tribe. It may be affirmed that the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers (2, 4–9) is preëminently Petrine. In none of the other epistles, at least, and only in the Apocalypse, 1, 5. 6; 5, 8–10, is it so emphatically declared. But even this idea is essentially of Old Testament origin, and not less the description of Christians as strangers and pilgrims (2, 11; comp. Ps. 119, 19 and other passages). Peculiarities like these are the more worthy of notice, if it is true that the first readers of this epistle of Peter were principally Jews, though by no means exclusively so, as is plain from the form of address in 1, 14; 2, 10; 4, 3. 4. Even those who had previously been in the darkness of heathenism are here addressed as fully sharing in the blessing of Israel, and now also called with them to the realization of the ideal of the ancient theocracy.

8. What has been observed concerning the Old Testament coloring of the Petrine Theology defines its character, but does not diminish its importance. Both propositions are true, viz: the New Testament is the fulfilling, and the opposite, of the Old Testament. Paul emphasizes the latter, Peter the former. It was just by reason of this peculiarity that he was the better fitted to bring the Gospel to Israel, and as Israel itself was a people of expectation in the fullest sense of the word, so its first Apostle was also the Apostle of hope.

Comp. Weiss, *l. c.* S. 98–197 and the literature there cited; to which may be added Van Teutem, bl. 31 sqq., Fronmüller, "*The Petrine Theology*," § 4 of the introduction.

Questions for consideration.—What is the meaning of Acts 2, 40*b*?—In what relation does Peter represent himself and his fellow believers as standing to the old dispensation, Acts 15, 7–11?—How may this be reconciled with Gal. 2, 11–13?—What does Peter teach concerning baptism?—What concerning the calling of the Gentiles?—What place does the idea of predestination occupy in the theology of Peter?—What accord-

ance and what difference is to be observed between the way in which the Old Testament is employed by him and by our Lord?

§ 29.

Peter, the Apostle of Hope.

Both the discourses and the first epistle of Peter exhibit him to us as especially the Apostle of hope, in the sense that the expectation of the coming of the Lord governs his whole representation of Christian truth, and not less his whole exhibition of the Christian life. As this peculiarity of his may be fully explained by his individuality, it gives us also the key to the explanation of his course of thought and the measure for estimating the value of his theology.

1. The name, Apostle of hope, refers by no means to a characteristic which belongs exclusively to Peter, but only to a peculiarity which appears in his theology more strongly than in that of others. In none of the Apostles do we find the mention and praise of Christian hope (ἐλπίς) wanting, but the Petrine theology is especially characterized by it. Christian hope constitutes not merely the end, but the center of all his teachings. The Gospel, which from one side is the brightest fulfillment, is in his view from the other the most glorious promise. He speaks of it constantly, and is ever returning to it with warm affection. Whether we fix our attention upon his discourses or upon his first epistle, it is always the expectation of the future which imparts glow and life to his whole presentation.

2. In the very beginning of his discourse on the day of Pentecost, Peter points out, in the light of the prophecy of Joel, not merely what is now imparted, but also what is to be expected in the future (Acts 2, 16–21); and although his discourse is addressed exclusively to the house of Israel, he cannot omit to direct his eye towards all "that are afar off" (Acts 2, 39). In his next discourse he insists upon conversion (3, 19–21), that thus the times of refreshing may come, though the coming again of Christ, who has now indeed temporarily

ascended to heaven, but is ready to establish his kingdom in Israel and to restore all things. The address also to Cornelius hastens, as it were, to announce Christ as the ordained judge of the quick and the dead (10, 42), and even in the brief address at the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem, the expectation is evident of a salvation in part still future (15, 11).

3. Still more marked is this peculiarity in the first epistle of Peter. He begins with a doxology (1, 3), which reminds us at once of that in Paul's epistle to the Ephesians. But while the latter (Eph. 1, 3) emphasizes in general the spiritual blessings in Christ, Peter renders thanks above all for the blessing of being begotten again to a living hope, through the resurrection of the Lord. No special reason for the mention of this particular blessing can be assigned, except that it lies very near to his heart. The object of hope, the heavenly inheritance, is set forth in a series of elevated expressions, kindred to each other, and yet expressing different ideas. It is "incorruptible," because it belongs to the sphere of eternal things; "undefiled," as not subject to defilement through sin; it "passeth not away," is not only enduring, but ever equally glorious. This eternal, holy and glorious inheritance is perfectly secured to believers; it is reserved for them, and they are kept unto the salvation which is already about to be revealed (vs. 5). The present suffering (vs. 6) will be brief (comp. John 16, 16), and will increase their blessedness (vs. 7). Their joy in believing is even now full of glory (vs. 8); it is present where its object is, and whence they look for the end of their faith, the salvation of their souls (vs. 9). The Christian life is, therefore, a perfect hoping for grace (1, 13). That not only their faith, but also their hope might be in God, Christ rose and was glorified (1, 21). With the single remark that they hoped in God (3, 5) is the character of the pious women in the Old Testament described. Accordingly it is of the hope that is in them, that believers must always be ready to give a reason (3, 15). The time which we live in the flesh is short, and Christ is soon to pronounce judgment (4, 3–7). The final judgment upon the Church has already begun (4, 17), and therefore that upon the world will not be expected in vain. So far as the Apostle himself is concerned, there is to him

nothing more desirable, next to being called a witness of the sufferings of Christ, than to be styled a partaker of the coming glory (5, 1). The exhibition of the future reward constitutes the ground of his strongest exhortation (vs. 4), and the Christian call to eternal glory, after brief suffering, is the theme of his doxology (vs. 10). All this is, without doubt, entirely in the spirit of the Lord (comp. Luke 24, 26); but it is also the expression and fruit of the felt personal need of the light of the future to shine upon the darkness of the present. The expectation of this glory is, as it were, the axis around which all the teachings of the Apostle revolve. There is not an intimation that he anticipates a protracted struggle for the members of the Christian Church; their Head is already on the point of coming. The condition of believers after death, the resurrection of the righteous, the endless retribution of the wicked,—these are not at all or scarcely touched. Above all this, the Apostle directs them to look to the glorious end, the personal coming of the Lord.

4. In proof of the correctness of the above description, we give an analysis of the first epistle of Peter, in accordance with the point of view just taken. First he speaks in exalted language of the glory of hope (1, 3–12) and that in regard to its firm basis (vs. 3–5), its joyfulness (vs. 6–9), and its exalted nature (vs. 10–12). Next he rapidly proceeds, in the most earnest manner, to commend and strengthen the life of hope. A general exhortation to hope fully for grace (vs. 13) may be regarded as the fertile text, the result of all that precedes, and at the same time the theme of all the exhortations and consolations which now follow. They are (*a*) partly of a more general kind (1, 14–2, 10), so far as they call believers without distinction to personal holiness (1, 14–21), mutual love (1, 22–2, 3), and the common glorifying of God and the Saviour (2, 4–10). Partly also (*b*) they have a more definite bearing (2, 11–5, 5) so far as they relate either to believers in the world and in society (2, 11–4, 6) whether as subjects, servants, married persons, or members of the suffering and struggling Church as a whole, or to the mutual relations of believers (4, 7–5, 5) as called to live for one another (4, 7–11), to suffer together (vs. 12–16), and to be subject to each other (5, 1–5). In conclusion (*c*), all is once more summed up

in the general exhortation to be humble towards God (5, 6. 7), watchful of themselves (vs. 8), sympathizing to those about them (vs. 9), and hopeful of the future (vs. 10, 11). But among all these exhortations there is scarcely one which does not, either directly or indirectly, stand connected with the first and general one (1, 13): "hope fully for the grace that is brought unto you in the revelation of Jesus Christ."

5. The element of hope in the Petrine Theology is equally explicable and undeniable. It springs from the individuality of the Apostle, whose first epistle may be styled "a portrait in letters." Even as an Apostle of Jesus Christ (§ 27) Peter is an Apostle of hope; his expectation is founded upon the words of the Master himself (Matt. 19, 28–30). As the Apostle also of the circumcision (§ 28) he must be the same; the predictions of the prophets were only partially fulfilled in the first and humble coming of Christ. "Peter is a man formed in the school of the Old Testament, but who has learned the new things in all their richness and in all their grandeur" (Bonifas). But he is, above all, the Apostle of hope, because he is Simon Peter, and not John or Thomas; the impulsive, sanguine man, in whom the earlier search and striving for a better future, is tempered, but not destroyed. "*Gratia non tollit, sed sanat naturam.*" The more the new man now and then still felt the influence of the old (Gal. 2, 11), so much the more earnestly must he have longed after salvation.

6. The value of the Petrine Theology is not lessened by the observation, that the hope of the Apostle has not been fulfilled in the form in which it is here cherished and experienced. The day of our Lord's coming, not definitely made known by Him, was and remained a matter of individual expectation, in respect to which only the time itself could shed the true light. If Peter shared in the views of the entire apostolic age on this point, still the great event itself, expected by him, remains the object of expectation of all succeeding ages, and the hope lauded by him continues to be an inexhaustible fountain of comfort and sanctification. So attractive in various respects is the account of this hope given in his writings, that the question can hardly be passed over, whether he has not expressed himself still further at a later time respecting it. This question

naturally directs our attention to the second epistle which bears the name of Peter.

Comp. Weiss, *l. c.* S. 25 ff.; Mayerhoff "*Historico-critical Introduction to the Petrine writings,*" Hamb., 1835. [Lillie, *On the Epistles of Peter*, New York, 1869.]

Questions for consideration.—Whence the general expectation of the apostolic age concerning a speedy coming of the Lord, in which Peter also shared?—What connection is there between his Eschatology and that of the Synoptical Christ?—What does he mean in Acts 3, 21 by ἀποκατάστασις πάντων and what does he expect from it?—What, according to him, are the signs of the coming of the Lord?—What does he teach concerning the rewards and punishments of the world to come?

§ 30.

The Second Epistle of Peter.

Although very serious objections are brought against the Apostolic origin of the second epistle attributed to Peter, yet the theology which it teaches bears, with all its peculiarity, an undeniably Petrine character. Indeed, this epistle exhibits traces of the individuality of Peter, as an Apostle of Jesus Christ, an Apostle of the circumcision, and the Apostle of hope, to such an extent, that its contents, in themselves considered, are much more strongly in favor of its genuineness than against it.

1. The doubts in regard to the genuineness of the second epistle of Peter, date from the earliest centuries of the Christian era. Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian and others are acquainted with only one epistle of Peter; Origen and Eusebius doubt the genuineness of the second, and it is not found in the most ancient Syriac version. Even Erasmus and Calvin speak doubtfully or unfavorably, and in our time the majority of critics decidedly question its genuineness. On the other hand it has found defenders, even in our age, in Hug, Flatt, Kern,

Heidenreich, Windischmann, Dietlein, Thiersch, Guericke, Frommüller, Steinfass, and others, and Weiss and Brückner are manifestly inclined to recognize it, so that the science of Introduction cannot regard the question as settled. The Theology of the New Testament can only examine its theology and inquire how far it exhibits or does not exhibit a Petrine character.

2. Undoubtedly a difference may be observed here and there between the doctrinal and ethical contents of the second and the first epistles. Much stronger emphasis is laid in the former upon the knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις) of the gospel; many ideas expressed in the first epistle are here not at all or scarcely touched upon; and throughout, the resemblance to the epistle of Jude is greater than is found between any other two writers of the New Testament. Yet these and other peculiarities may be accounted for, at least to a certain degree, partly from the different wants of the readers, partly from the special aim of the writer, and in part, finally, from the individuality of Peter himself. In no case do they impair the thoroughly Petrine coloring of this epistle, which is admitted even by those who dispute its genuineness, however otherwise it may be explained. It often occurs, and not unfrequently in a surprising manner, that, as LUTTERBECK expresses it, "the second epistle of Peter teaches apparently the opposite, but in fact the same thing, as the first epistle."

3. The writer of this second epistle, also, speaks as an Apostle of Jesus Christ in the full sense of the word. Just as in the first, the historical Christ is distinctly the central point of his entire teaching, without express mention, beyond this, of the pre-existence of the Lord. He is the Saviour (3, 2), and the principal benefit which believers owe to Him consists in being cleansed from their former sins (1, 9; comp. 1 Pet. 1, 2). He has redeemed them (2, 1; comp. 1 Pet. 1, 18), and does not cease, even after his departure from earth, to stand in the closest relation to them (1, 14; comp. 1 Pet. 2, 25). Of the glory which he now enjoys, the writer has already seen a reflection on the mount of transfiguration (1, 16–18): a particular fact in the life of our Lord, which is not mentioned in any other of the New Testament epistles, just as another event, not

less mysterious, is mentioned *only* in the first epistle of Peter (1 Pet. 3, 19–21). No wonder that Christ stands before the eye of the writer in the glory of a truly Divine dignity. What was assumed or indicated is here distinctly declared. In addition to the name of Saviour, our Lord is styled *God* in the beginning of the epistle (1, 1), and the doxology addressed to Him at the end (3, 18), sets the seal to this appellation. In a word, the lines of thought, commencing in the book of Acts and in the first epistle of Peter, we here find methodically extended.

4. We find no less harmony, whenever, with the second epistle in our hands, we think of Peter as the Apostle of the Circumcision, as he is exhibited in the first. The Old Testament coloring, there observable, is here constantly appearing anew, both in regard to the clothing and the substance of the ideas. In the forefront stands the righteousness of God (1, 1), and almost immediately (vs. 10) the election (ἐκλογή) of believers is brought to view as being their peculiar privilege. The same high estimate of the prophetic word, with an exhibition of its divine origin similar to that given in the first epistle (1, 10–12), here comes into view (1, 19–21). In a single instance, as in the first epistle, the Old Testament is expressly cited (2, 22); but the number of passages is much larger, in which there is an allusion to its historical import, or its style even is unconsciously adopted. Here also mention is made of the age of Noah (2, 5), and of Abraham (vv. 6 ff.); this time, however, in accordance with the special aim of the epistle, with reference not to the obedient Sarah, but to the God-fearing Lot (2, 7–9). Here, moreover, is a repeated and pertinent use of what might be regarded as known from the Old Testament Scriptures (2, 13–16; comp. Num. 22, 16–34; 2, 22; comp. Prov. 26, 11; 3, 5; comp. Gen. 1, 2; 3, 7; comp. Gen. 9, 11; 3, 8; comp. Ps. 90, 4; 3, 12; comp. Is. 65, 17). He also adds the mention of the last day as the day of God (3, 10), entirely in the spirit of the old prophets. The New Testament is here also, from the beginning to the end, the completion and crown, never the opposite, of the Old.

5. The second epistle to one who listens with an attentive ear, reveals also the Apostle of hope. At the very outset, the writer directs the attention of his reader to the divine promises

(1, 4) and urges them to make progress in holiness by referring especially to the future (vs. 11). The "putting off the tabernacle" (1, 14) recalls to mind the figure of "pilgrimage" in the first epistle (2, 11). Most of all, however, is attention here to be directed to the extended digression (3, 3–15) to the destruction of the present order of things with its great consequences, which would almost justify us in calling it an abridged Apocalypse. The difference from the first epistle in respect to eschatology is merely relative and by no means incapable of explanation. If some time had elapsed between the composition of the two epistles, it might and must have become manifest to the Apostle, that the earnestly desired future might be delayed somewhat longer than he had originally expected. This delay he could be the less insensible to, because it was abused by scoffers, against whose seductions he here arms believers, while in the first epistle he comforts them under suffering by referring to the glory to come. Here, however, as there, his look is directed, with longing, to the end, and the exhortation not merely to watch, but also to hasten (σπουδάζειν) to the day of God, exhibited a Petrine character,* as does the strong urging to holiness with which the life of hope is also here brought into direct connection. And in regard, finally, to the main import of the expectations here disclosed, it must be observed that they attach themselves entirely to the promise of the prophets and the declarations of our Lord himself. The untenableness of a doctrinal view in the light of a later age is no proof that Peter might not have embraced and expressed it.

6. It must be admitted that differences of more or less importance are opposed to the accordance pointed out; but differences of thought or clothing in two different writings prove nothing in themselves against the identity of the author, and least of all when this author exhibits an individuality like that of Simon Peter. It is enough, that on not a single point of importance do the two epistles contradict each other, and certainly the appearance of contradiction would be most carefully avoided by an impostor, abusing the name of Peter. There is at

* This [genuine Petrine] word occurs thrice in our epistle, and only seven times in both the epistles of Peter. Would an impostor, seeking to write in the style of the Apostle, have paid regard to such slight psychological peculiarities?

least no greater difference between the first and second epistles, which bear the name of Peter, than between some writings of John and Paul, the genuineness of which no candid man doubts.

7. Other internal difficulties, derived from the difference in style between the first and second epistles; from the relation of the latter to the Gospel history, the epistles of Paul, the general epistle of Jude, and to the budding Gnosticism of the age; or from the mysterious import of some of the expressions which here occur, lie without the bounds of our investigation. Strictly confining ourselves to the doctrinal statements, we feel obliged to declare as the result of this investigation, that the second epistle contains absolutely nothing that forbids us to think of Simon Peter as the writer, and not a little on the contrary which justifies the belief in its Petrine origin. We find ourselves, consequently, reduced to the simple alternative, either that Peter himself wrote the epistle, or that an unknown writer, in order to accomplish his particular ends, evidently strove to be taken for our Apostle, and with this design imitated his style and his ideas as accurately as possible. Whether a literary fiction of this kind admits of being so easily accepted, as is maintained on some sides, and whether in that case it would be consonant with the moral character of the writer as exhibited to us in this epistle, is a question, the answer to which does not belong to this place. Had the second epistle of Peter appeared as an anonymous production, it is quite possible that the inner criticism would have raised the supposition, in the view of many, to a very high degree of probability, that this writing proceeded from none other than the Apostle Peter.

Comp. on the doctrinal teachings of the second epistle of Peter in connection with its genuineness, in addition to Messner, *l. c.* S. 54–70, Van Oosterzee, "*Christology of the New Testament*," bl. 162–176, and the literature there given; to which may be added Fronmüller, *l. c.* S. 68 sqq.; Steinfass, "*The Second Epistle of St. Peter*," Rostock, 1863, and Weiss, "*On the Petrine Question*," in the Stud. u. Krit., 1865 and 1866. On the spread of particular writings under the names of Apostles, in the early ages of Christianity, Thiersch, "*Essay towards a restoration of the historical point of view*," etc., Erl., 1845, S. 338 sqq.; Niermeijer, "*The Criticism of the Tübingen School*," 1848, bl. 36–47.

Questions for consideration.—Who have contested the genuineness of the second epistle of Peter on the ground especially of its doctrinal teachings?—What peculiarities do the doctrinal and ethical contents of our epistle exhibit, as compared with the first?—How far may these peculiarities be explained from the particular design of the composition and from the individuality of the author?—The relation of this epistle to that of Jude and those of Paul?—The eschatology of this epistle compared with the expectations of profane antiquity, and the prophetic scriptures of the Old Testament.—The second epistle of Peter, the crown of his whole Apostolic testimony, and his testament to the Church and the world.

§ 31.

The Kindred Types of Doctrine.

The Petrine exhibition of the Gospel stands by no means alone among the writings of the New Testament. Without violence to the peculiarity of each writer, it agrees in a remarkable manner with what is either assumed or expressed in the Gospels according to Matthew and Mark, and especially in the general Epistles of James and Jude.

1. We have already observed the many-sided peculiarity of the Petrine representation of the Gospel. To this type attached itself undoubtedly the faith of the Jewish Christians, who found in Peter both their guide and their representative. In view, however, of the high position which Peter occupied in the history of the Apostolic age, it may be reasonably assumed in advance that among the sacred writers themselves there would be by no means wanting men of kindred spirit. This conjecture passes into certainty when we look at various parts of the New Testament, in which either the spirit of our Apostle manifestly appears, or ideas are expressed which more or less resemble his.

2. This is preëminently the case with the Gospel according to *Mark*, in the contents and composition of which, Peter, according to tradition, exerted an influence, the nature and extent of which cannot here be more exactly determined. The more

philosophical character exhibited in the Gospel according to John is here wanting, as it is in the discourses and epistles of our Apostle. The second Gospel begins at once with the baptism of John, to end with the resurrection and ascension of Jesus, and moves therefore exactly within the circle marked out by Peter himself for a witness of the Lord (Acts 1, 21. 22). It exhibits the traits of character distinctly exhibited by Jesus, as possessing which Peter loved to represent him, and the personal remembrance of which were to him of the greatest value. The dramatic force of the representation, the varying tone, and the rapidity of transition in the narrative, involuntarily remind us of the witness of the Lord, with whom in his discourses and writings we have just become acquainted.

3. Something of the same kind may also be observed in regard to *Matthew*. Whatever we may think of the perplexing questions of Introduction which this Gospel presents to us, it cannot be doubted that it exhibits a purely Palestinian character, and that so far the writer may be said to have a spirit akin to Peter much more than to Paul or John. The evident aim of the first Gospel to exhibit Jesus as the promised Messiah, in the light of the prophetic Scriptures, is entirely in the spirit of our Apostle. As in his preaching of Christ, in Acts 10, 38, he attaches special importance to the miracles of the Lord, so here we find a whole series of them brought together (Matt. chapters 8 and 9). Matthew, like Peter, announces the Lord as Israel's Messiah, and also like the latter, without excluding the heathen. No where, finally, are the eschatological discourses of the Lord, which to the Apostle of hope possessed such a priceless value, given so fully and in such order as in the first Gospel.

4. Still less is it to be denied that *Jude*, the brother of James, so far as he is known to us from his epistle, stands on the same platform with Peter. Whatever conclusion we may come to as to his person, and the relation of this Epistle to the Second Epistle of Peter, the mode of conception peculiar to Peter is also unmistakably present here. As a witness of Jesus Christ, Jude also, although in few words, manifestly enough places the Lord in the foreground. For Him Christians are preserved (vs. 1); He is the only Ruler and Lord (vs. 4), for whose compassion

unto everlasting life they wait (vs. 21), and through whom God is to be glorified in the Church (vs. 25. On all these passages, consult TISCHENDORF). Thus, Jude builds—as with all the apostles, so preëminently Peter—upon one and the same foundation; although, like Peter, he rather presupposes and intimates, than actually declares, the Divine nature and dignity of the Redeemer. The Old Testament coloring also belongs to his teaching, in common with that of Peter. Like Peter, he makes abundant use of sacred history, as that of Sodom (vs. 7), of Moses (vs. 9), Balaam (vs. 11), and Enoch (vs. 14). He seems also, in regard to this last, to have drawn upon an apocryphal writing, which he accepts as authoritative. The hope of the future is also brought into great prominence in this short epistle, even though—having regard to untruth and unrighteousness—it is especially contemplated on its terrible side. Like Peter (1 Pet. 1, 5), Jude finally lays especial stress upon the preservation of believers unto everlasting life (vs. 1, 21. 24).

5. Especially, however, must we here mention the Epistle of *James*, which fills, indeed, no large place, but, nevertheless, a highly important one, in the first development of Christian doctrine. The doctrine of this witness of the Lord contains also—besides that which it has in common with that of Peter—much that is peculiar to itself, especially as regards the exhibition of the person and work of the Lord. The actual name of Jesus Christ is here only twice mentioned (1, 1; 2, 1), although in several other places it may at least be questioned whether it is not alluded to (2, 7; 5, 6. 7. 8. 14). On the great historic facts in the life and saving work of Christ he preserves an entire silence. The high-priestly work of our Lord also falls into the background; even His royal glory is spoken of only in passing (2, 1); but louder than elsewhere we here catch the faithful echo of His prophetic word. Many an exhortation of the Epistle of James is, as it were, an echo of the Sermon on the Mount, (e. g., 3, 11. 12; 4, 4; 5, 12), and proves how deeply the author was penetrated with the spirit of his glorified Brother. In the conception of God, it is principally the moral attributes of God upon which stress is laid; even His unchangeableness is not only a characteristic, but a virtue, (1, 13–17). Not less peculiar is the conception here found in relation

to sin on the one hand, and grace on the other. James lays great stress upon the fact that man was created originally after God's image (3, 9; comp. Gen. 9, 6); but none the less does he expressly affirm that sin is absolutely universal (3, 2), and, above all, that in every case it is man's own fault (1, 13–18). That he does not ignore the demoniacal origin of moral evil is clear (2, 19; 3, 15; 4, 7); but the arising of sin within the man at a particular moment he describes especially on its psychological side (1, 14. 15), as also in the word, sin (ἁμαρτία), he thinks rather of the sinful act than of the sinful principle (with him ἐπιθυμία). On that account, he rather combats specific sins, e. g., those of the tongue (3, 1–12), or of the rich against the poor (5, 1–6), than (as, for instance, Paul, in Rom. 7,) probes to its depths the discord within the sinful heart. But as this sin brings forth death, in the widest sense of the word (1, 15; 5, 20), grace is revealed—it is true in its forgiving (5, 15), but—especially in its sanctifying and new creating (1, 18) power. Grace is received through faith, but only through such a faith as is proved genuine by works (2, 14–26). The peculiar sense in which the words *justification*, *faith*, and *works* are used by James as compared with Paul, serves as a clear proof that his object is not to wage war against the ideas themselves which are found in the writings of that Apostle, but to place a bridle upon the one-sided Paulinism which showed itself in his vicinity. One must certainly share Luther's antipathy for this "epistle of straw," before asserting with him that "the Holy Ghost allowed Sanct James to stumble a little." James, no less than Paul, recognizes a faith which is nothing less than a firm confidence of the heart (1, 6–8); but it is here not so much an opposition of sin and grace as of knowing and doing (comp. John 13, 17), which dominates his whole mode of thinking.

In regard, moreover, to his particular view of the *essence* of Christianity, it is presented unquestionably in its purely religious and especially its ethical side. We see how, in this short epistle, he exhorts repeatedly to prayer, even for others (1, 5; 4, 2. 3; 5, 13–18); an exercise of the Christian life, to which is assured, according to James, not merely a psychological influence, but also a direct answer (1, 5–8; 5, 14–18). He brings, as a rule, the commandments of the second table

into greater prominence than those of the first; and we may say that the text and ground-tone of all his exhortations is contained in a single sentence (1, 19); just as 1 Pet. 1. 13 is the basis of all the exhortations which follow. Moral beauty is that at which James, above all, aims (τελειος, 1, 4. 25; 3, 2), and Christianity is the great means of bringing man to this perfection, and thus raising him to the highest rank (1, 18). In self-denial and love to one's neighbor consists especially the true religion here commended (1, 27). The Gospel itself is, according to his view, a perfect law of liberty, whose precepts are all inseparably connected, and governed by the great principle of love (2, 8–13). The whole Epistle of James bears, consequently, rather a practical than a dogmatic character, and contains (partly in highly poetic language) a moral teaching which attaches itself partly to the utterances of the Lord, partly to the precepts of the Book of Proverbs, and partly, also—what is nowhere else met with in the writings of the New Testament—to those of the son of Sirach. It is the task of Biblical Introduction to find the key to this and other peculiarities of this beautiful Epistle, in the individuality of the writer, in the circumstances of his readers, and in the peculiar aim of his writing. The Biblical Theology of the New Testament can only show that here, within a small compass, is laid up a rare wealth of original, deeply Christian thoughts, which show indeed the unquestionable independence of the writer, but also his spiritual affinity with Peter.

6. In a Christological aspect, it is less rich than that of Peter, and even than that of Jude; but the fundamental conception of the person of the Lord belongs to the same circle of thoughts, and the Christian life, as it is here and there described, shows an unmistakable relationship. The express mention of regeneration through the word (1, 18; comp. 1 Pet. 1, 23), the powerful exhortation to moral perfection (3, 1; comp. 1 Pet. 1, 15), the magnifying of Christian joy, even under the severest trials, yea, on account of them (1, 2–4; comp. 1 Pet. 1, 6–9; 4, 14), and not less of compassion and love, in connection with the future judgment (2, 13; 5, 20; comp. 1 Pet. 4, 8), is common to both. We may say that the twofold tendency of the two Epistles of Peter, *consolation* and *exhortation*, is, in the Epistle of James,

blended in one. The Old Testament character, also, of the Epistles of Peter will not be sought in vain in the Epistle of James. Entirely in the spirit of the ancient prophets is, for example, the mention of the jealousy (4, 6) of God: also the appellation Jehovah Sabaoth (5, 4), which is found only here in the New Testament, is in this respect noteworthy. "James conceives of the old under new forms" (NEANDER). Only in one respect is there an essential difference: Peter conceives of the Gospel as, above all, the fulfilment of prophecy; James, on the other hand, as the fulfilment of the law. Finally, as regards the hope which characterizes both epistles, the more calm and practical James, though he has not the longing desire of the ardent Peter, has this however, in common with him, that he also constantly directs the eye from the present to the future, and employs the approaching coming of the Lord, as a powerful motive to a Christian spirit (5, 7. 8). *His* eye also is fixed upon the crown of life (1, 12; comp. 1 Pet. 5, 4), which is promised to the faithful warrior, but he has also regard to the just retribution prepared for the oppressor of the poor brother (5, 1-6). We must divorce expressions like these last entirely from their connection, and regard them with very prejudiced eyes, to find here no higher conception than that of quite a flat specimen of Ebionitism (REUSS).

Compare, in addition to SCHMID, REUSS, and MESSNER, on this subject, especially LANGE, *Commentary*, Introd. to Epp. of James and Jude; DE PRESSENSÉ, *Early Years of Christianity*, pp. 207–219; BONIFAS, *l. c.* pp. 27 and following; STIER, "*The Epistle of Jude, the brother of the Lord*," Berl. 1850.

Questions for consideration.—Origin and extent of the Petrine element in the Second Gospel.—Peter and Matthew.—The relation between the Epistle of Jude and the Second Epistle of Peter in regard to their doctrinal contents.—How is the use of an apocryphal writing in the Epistle of Jude to be explained, and what judgment are we to form as to its citation?—Connection between the Epistle of James and the Synoptical Gospels.—Influence of Solomon, and Jesus the son of Sirach, upon the contents and form of this Epistle.—The peculiarity of its representation of faith and works.—What is the sense of James 1, 27?—The doctrine of the oath in James in connection with

that in the Sermon on the Mount.—Does James write polemically?—Are there to be found in his Epistle traces also of Ebionitish ideas?—How are the opposite judgments concerning this epistle in earlier and later times to be explained?

§ 32.

Result and Transition.

The contents and form of the Petrine system of doctrines correspond entirely to that which was to be expected of our Apostle as elsewhere known to us, and bear the unmistakable stamp of a rich originality. Although it is not to be denied that between the ideas especially which are to be found in the Apostle's first epistle and several epistles of Paul, there is a certain affinity, yet the Petrine theology is by no means a feeble copy of the Pauline, but preserves alongside the other its independent character; always, however, in such a sense that, in the riches and depth of its doctrinal development, it stands not above, but below the Pauline.

1. In summing up at the end of this section, the total impression received, we find a confirmation in many respects of what we have previously (§ 25) said, concerning the agreement of the Petrine system of doctrine with what we have learnt from other sources as to the individuality of this Apostle. This agreement, rightly understood and used, affords an unexceptionable contribution to the defence of the historic character of the discourses, and the genuineness of the epistles ascribed to Peter. But, at the same time, a glance at the kindred systems of doctrine has convinced us of the great influence which the Gospel of Peter exerted within his immediate circle, and consequently, also, so far as it can be inferred therefrom, of the power of his personality. *His* Gospel also forms an organic whole, and by no means a mere aggregate of incoherent thoughts.

2. It is true we find in several of the epistles of Paul, especially in those to the Romans and Ephesians, expressions by which we are quite involuntarily reminded of the first epistle of Peter. (Comp. e. g., 1 Pet. 1, 3, sqq. with Eph. 1, 3; 1 Peter

1, 6–9 with Rom. 5, 3–5; 1 Peter 2, 6–7 with Rom. 9, 33.) The investigation as to the causes of this remarkable phenomenon belongs to the department of Introduction. But little as this phenomenon on which so much has been said, justifies the assertion of the Tübingen school that the first epistle of Peter may be styled only an apology for Paulinism, palmed off by an unknown adherent of Paul upon the Petrine Christians, still less does it in any way affect the originality of the Petrine conception of the Gospel, even in the (highly improbable) case that this agreement must be explained by the use made, on the part of Peter, of the Pauline epistles. In Peter we find not the echo of another, but an independent, clear, and powerful voice of his own.

3. By this, however, we do not intend to say that the Petrine system of doctrines comes up to, or towers above, the Pauline in riches, depth, and power. The contrary will soon be manifest from a survey of the latter. Fundamental thoughts of the Gospel of Paul, as, for example, the doctrine of justification through faith, are not found in this form in Peter. Truths and duties, of which both remind us, are treated by Paul more deeply and in a more many-sided way than by Peter, whose literary remains are also much smaller than those of his fellow Apostle. For one Petrine idea which is not touched by Paul, there stand probably ten Pauline ones which are passed over in silence by Peter. But much which is more fully explained by Paul has been already hinted at by Peter; and so far we may truly say, "Peter belongs to the same school with James, but he has passed the point of view of the School of the Law, and *presents to us already, the point of view of Paul*" (Bonifas). The best proof of the justice of this remark will be the treatment, in the following chapter, of the Pauline theology.

Comp. Weiss, *l. c.* S. 375 ff.; Messner, *l. c.* S. 55; Baur, *l. c.* S. 217–297.

Questions for consideration. — In what respect do single expressions of James and Peter correspond in subject-matter and form with those of Paul?—Can we fairly maintain that the epistles of James and Peter show a determined attempt at reconciliation between Paulinism and Judaism?—To what extent does the Petrine theology, regarded as a whole, rise above the Ebionitism of the Apostolic age?

CHAPTER II.

The Pauline Theology.

§ 33.

Preliminary Survey.

The Pauline doctrinal system embraces the rich contents of all that which the Apostle Paul himself has called *his* Gospel, so far as this is known to us from the Scriptures of the New Testament, and especially from his own epistles. The introductory survey will delineate roughly the leading thought, the character, the source, the value, and the history of the Pauline theology, in order at the close to give an answer to the question, how its treatment is to be conducted.

1. A much richer field than is to be found in the Petrine theology opens itself to us in the Pauline. As the former makes us acquainted with the Gospel which was proclaimed to the Jewish Christians, so this more especially makes known to us the glad tidings which Paul proclaimed in the Gentile world. With all that the doctrine of the Apostle of the Gentiles has in common with that of a Peter or a John, there is manifested, at the same time, so much that is peculiar to himself, that Paul was fully justified in speaking as he does of *his* Gospel (Rom. 2, 16, and elsewhere).

2. The Gospel of Paul is made known to us, not indeed exclusively, but yet principally in the Scriptures of the New Testament. Besides the Second Epistle of Peter, (3, 15. 16) the Book of Acts (13, 16–41; 14, 15–17; 16, 31; 17, 3, 16–31; 20, 18–35; 22, 3–21; 23, 6; 24, 14–25; 26, 6–23; 28, 17–28) makes us especially acquainted with the main contents of this Gospel. But, above all, it is the thirteen Epistles which have come down to us under his name, which—some more, others less—afford us highly important materials for the prosecution of this investigation.

The question, on what ground we ascribe all these epistles to Paul, belongs to the province of Criticism and Introduction. In this place the assurance must be accepted that, in our estimation, the genuineness of the whole thirteen is certainly to be acknowledged, although we admit that this genuineness, in the case of some, can be more satisfactorily defended than in the case of others. Of the authenticity of the greater part, a powerful defence has been quite recently put forth; of others, the authenticity has never, on scientific grounds, been disputed. We adopt, in this respect, without reserve the stand-point which, until within the last few years, was accepted by almost all theologians, whether of a more conservative or more advanced school, both within our own country and beyond it; and we continue to hold it, not because the new is unknown to us, but because, in our view, uncritical and arbitrary speculation constantly usurps the place of thorough and impartial science. While, for this reason, we do not entirely except from our examination any one of the Pauline epistles, they must naturally—at least in regard to the most important points—be consulted in that order in which they were probably written. During a period of about twelve years, which lay between the composition of the earliest and the latest epistle, the spiritual development of Paul was certainly not stationary. These epistles are probably to be arranged in the following manner:—1. The two to the Thessalonians; 2. The Epistle to the Galatians; 3. The two Epistles to the Corinthians; 4. The Epistle to the Romans; 5. Those to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians; 6. The Pastoral Epistles.

It cannot by any means be shown that another Gospel is to be read in those epistles the genuineness of which has been denied, or held suspected, by critics of the Old or New Tübingen school, than in the four which the first-named have magnanimously left to us. It is on this account not necessary on every point to consult these four before listening to the testimony of either of the others. On disputed points, however, of special importance, we cannot, at the present time, entirely neglect this distinction. Besides this, also, an especial value in regard to specific subjects is to be attached to particular epistles above others: e. g., for soteriology, to the Epistles to the Romans and

Galatians; for ecclesiology, to that to the Ephesians; for eschatology, to those to the Corinthians, &c.

3. In order to become at home in the Pauline theology, it is of importance to discover the ground-thought which, to a certain extent, shapes the doctrinal teaching of this Apostle. It is the doctrine of justification through faith which, more than anything else, according to Paul, makes the Gospel to be God's power unto salvation (Rom. 1, 16–17). Not only in the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, but also in that to the Philippians (3, 4–11), this truth is expressed, evidently as a favorite one, and in a form, which links it at once with the language of the Old Testament (Gen. 15, 6) and with the teaching of the Lord Himself (Luke 18, 14), a form also especially familiar and attractive to the Jewish Christians. The utter impossibility of justification on the ground of the works of law, and the completeness of the justification by grace in Christ, this is the main thought which Paul is never weary of expressing in manifold forms, and applying to every variety of necessities and conditions.

4. By this main thought of the Pauline theology, the peculiar character of the form and subject-matter is at the same time determined. The character of the subject-matter is in general soteriological; salvation in Christ is here, as far as possible, presented for contemplation on all sides, while the great antithesis of sin and grace is ever anew placed in the foreground. Still more decidedly this doctrine may be said to bear an anthropological character. Paul does not, like Peter, take his point of departure in the prophetic Scriptures, or, like John, in the person of the Saviour, but in *Man*, with his deepest wants, as they are awakened by the law, but can be satisfied only by the Gospel. And this satisfaction, according to the genuine universalism of the Apostle, is designed and attainable, not merely for some, but for all. The fact that Christianity is the religion for the world, although ignored by none of his fellow-witnesses, is yet declared by none more powerfully than by him (comp. Acts 13, 38. 39; Rom. 3, 21–24). The form also in which all this is expressed by him, is in the highest degree striking and appropriate; for in point of form the whole Pauline theology is decidedly antithetical. Law and Gospel, works

and faith, flesh and spirit, death and life, condemnation and justification, form an impressive series of powerful antitheses. The key to this peculiar character of his whole doctrinal system, both as to subject-matter and to form, is to be found in the experience of the Apostle's own life.

5. The source of the Pauline theology was partly, but not entirely, the same as that of his fellow-witnesses. From 2 Cor. 5, 16 (κατὰ σάρκα, after a fleshly standard), it would seem that he had not personally known Christ; certainly he had not (like the Twelve) held converse with Him and received instruction from Him. He himself says that he received not his Gospel of man, or by man, and points to special revelation from Jesus Christ as the source of his teaching (Gal. 1, 1–17). The revelation granted to him at and after his conversion was subsequently continued from time to time in regard to particular points (1 Cor. 7, 25; Eph. 3, 3; 1 Thess. 4, 15). The Christian tradition also was, from the nature of the case, known to him (1 Cor. 11, 23 παρέλαβον). The revelation of God in nature, history and conscience, had been attentively observed by him (Rom. 1. 11); and even his education by Gamaliel (Acts 22, 3), had not been by any means without influence on his subsequent mode of thinking. Accurately acquainted with the Old Testament, and the peculiar mode of interpreting Scripture prevalent in his day (comp. Gal. 4, 24), and even not unacquainted with Greek literature (e. g., Acts 17, 28; Tit. 1, 12; 1 Cor. 15, 33), he could perceive the truth more clearly than many others, and express it with greater force. All this, however, would not have made Paul to be Paul, had not the gift of the Holy Ghost been bestowed upon him in rich measure (1 Cor. 2, 13; 7, 40; 12, 7), through which the mystery of the Gospel was revealed to him in immediate connection with his own inner need and his own life-experience. Consequently, we may say that the sanctified personality of Paul—or, traced back to its first beginning, his conversion—is the key to his whole doctrine. The theology of Paul was, in the deepest and richest sense of the word, the theology of experience.

6. The value of the Pauline theology has been sometimes ignored, sometimes over-estimated; the latter, in the case of the Tübingen school, which has discovered in Paul the father

of Christian universalism; the former by the vulgar Rationalism, in placing the zealot of Tarsus far beneath, yea, in opposition to the Rabbi of Nazareth, a position to which the "modern theology" is in danger of sinking, whenever its idle attempt to make Paul the apologist of its liberality and negation turns out to be hopeless. Avoiding both extremes, it is certain that the Pauline theology is of the highest value, partly in itself, in that it contains a many-sided, profound, faithful, and powerful presentation of the Gospel; partly in comparison with that of others, whom he either surpasses (Peter and James), or for whom in turn he prepares the way (John); partly, finally, on account of the great influence which the testimony of Paul has exerted in the course of ages, and still continues to exert. Though he was not the founder of Christianity (1 Cor. 1, 13), he has been the founder of the Gentile Church, and the spiritual father of millions (1 Cor. 4, 15). Augustine and Luther sat at his feet; his spirit lives again in Protestantism, and even the little which the criticism of the present day allows to be genuinely Pauline, is sufficient to exhibit the folly of the naturalistic unbelief which decks itself with the name of Christianity.

7. It is on this account gratifying that the history of the scientific treatment of the Pauline theology, although dating only from the beginning of this century, is by no means insignificant. Without saying anything in this place of the earlier and less successful attempts, we draw attention to the meritorious work of L. Usteri, *Paulin. Lehrbegr.*, sixth edition, 1851. Himself a pupil of Schleiermacher—of whom, by the talent displayed in this work, he shows himself a worthy successor—he has penetrated more deeply than any of his predecessors into the spirit of the Apostle. Deserving also of attention is the examination of the Pauline theology in the second part of Neander's *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, and that of F. C. Baur in his *Paulus*, Stuttgard, 1845, S. 505–670. The writings of Dähne (1835) and Lützelberger (1839), *on the Doctrinal System of Paul*, will not bear comparison with the three just named. At the same time, besides what is contained in the writings, so frequently cited, of Schmid, Messner, and Reuss, more or less of attention has

been devoted to the matter and manner of Paul's teaching, in the treatment of the history of the Apostolic age by LECHLER, SCHAFF, DE PRESSENSÉ, RITZSCHL (second edition), and others. Among our Dutch theologians, Dr. I. DA COSTA'S *Paulus* (2 parts, Leiden, 1846, 1847) is especially worthy of mention. The theologians, also, of the Groningen school, in the first volumes of *Waarheid in Liefde* (1837 and following), with different writers of the Leyden and Utrecht schools, have made contributions to the understanding of single parts of the Pauline system, of which we shall presently speak.

8. After a glance at so many examples—partly warning, partly encouraging — the question as to the best manner of dealing with the Pauline doctrinal system cannot be difficult to answer. The ground-thought of the Apostle's teaching already mentioned, determines at the same time the course of our investigation, which naturally attaches itself to his own statement, Rom. 3, 21. 22. We must especially have regard to the Apostle's distinction of the time *before Christ* and *after Christ*, and must necessarily occupy ourselves for a much longer period with the latter than with the former. We inquire, consequently, first what he testifies of humanity and the individual man, *out of* Christ, and then what he testifies of both *in* and *through* Christ. When, after taking into account, as far as possible or necessary, the chronological succession of his teachings, we have examined them in relation to one another, and have brought them into a compact whole, we shall—as at the end of the previous division of our subject—proceed to examine the kindred cycles of doctrine.

Compare on Paul and the Pauline theology in general, besides the oft-named works of SCHMID, REUSS, MESSNER, BAUR, and others, the consultation of which, even without constant reiteration, is tacitly recommended for all the following sections, especially the article *Paulus*, by LANGE, in HERZOG, as also the General Introduction to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Also A. MONOD, *St. Paul, Five Discourses*; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Letters of St. Paul;* SYMAR, "*the Theology of St. Paul exhibited*," Freib. im. Br. 1864. (R.C.); HAUSRATH, "*Paul the Apostle of Jesus;* TRIP, "*Paul according to the Acts of the Apostles*," Leid. 1866. On the genuineness

of the Thirteen Epistles, SCHOLTEN, "*Introduction to the N. T.*" Leid. 1856. On *the Gospel of Paul*, a Latin *Dissertatio* of J. VAN LOENEN, Gron., 1863.

Questions for consideration.—What does Paul mean by *his* Gospel, Rom. 2, 16; 16, 25; 2 Tim. 2, 8?—What knowledge of Paulinism, beyond that derived from the New Testament, can we draw from the early Christian literature? Is the Paul of the Acts and of the Epistles the same?—What is the sense of 2 Cor. 5, 16?—What of Gal. 1, 16?—What of 1 Cor. 11, 23? To what extent was Paul experimental?—In what relation does Paul place himself to his fellow Apostles?—How is the great influence of the Pauline theology to be explained?—General survey and criticism of some other divisions and modes of treatment of the subject.

FIRST DIVISION.

MANKIND AND THE INDIVIDUAL MAN, BEFORE AND OUT OF CHRIST.

§ 34.

The Heathen and Jewish World.

According to the teaching of Paul, the whole heathen world lies sunk in a condition of godlessness and immorality which can neither be extenuated nor excused, and which must, therefore fear and endure God's righteous judgment. Although the Jewish world was originally irradiated by purer light, it stands in a moral respect so little above the other, that it also deserves the same judgment. Since both, consequently, are under sin, the whole world is guilty before God, and absolutely unable to justify itself in His sight.

1. Although the misery of the individual man and of the race before and out of Christ is either presupposed or actually expressed by all the Apostles, yet no one has given so full a description of this condition as the Apostle Paul. His exten-

sive knowledge of the world and of men, combined with the personal experience of his life, qualified him for this work; and his object—to prove that the Gospel was absolutely indispensable—could scarcely be better attained. The *locus classicus* on this point is Rom. 1, 18–3, 20, with which must especially be compared Acts 15, 15–17; 17, 24–29.

2. Heathenism is, in the view of the Apostle, by no means merely a lower stage of the religious life, but in its origin and growth the consequence of a most melancholy defection from God; for the heathen had the capacity for recognizing God, and even to a certain extent have actually recognized Him (Rom. 1, 18–21). He revealed himself to them, not only through the works of nature, but also in the original light of conscience (Rom. 2, 14, 15; comp. Acts 14, 17). In consequence of this, they possessed some natural acquaintance with God, and were conscious of that which God demands (Rom. 1, 32). Notwithstanding all his degradation, man was, in the words of one of their own poets, of Divine descent, and felt, as such, an obscure but powerful impulse to seek Him in whom the true foundation of his being lay (Acts 17, 27. 28). The Apostle does justice to the æsthetical worth of heathenism, as well as its religious aspiration (Acts 17, 22. 23); but beneath this transparent robe he sees a corruption whose depth, with firm hand, he probes and lays bare.

3. Heathenism, which prides itself upon its wisdom, is the fruit of a darkened understanding; and this blinding of the understanding has its source in a heart estranged from God (Rom. 1, 21; Eph. 4, 18). The estrangement of the heart first became manifest in the inexcusable neglect of Him. It refused to praise and glorify God, and through unrighteousness forcibly restrained the operation of the truth (Rom. 1, 18, κατέχοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν.) Having thus gone out of the way, men began to contend about the truth which the darkened eye could no longer clearly see, and attained to the climax of folly, which in turn was made manifest in the most terrible transgression. In the estimation of Paul, the highly-lauded heathenism is nothing but a deification of nature (Rom. 1, 21–25); the perversion of creatures into objects of idolatrous worship, i. e., the theoretical and practical denial of God; godlessness in the garb of religion.

4. Sin necessarily brings with it its own punishment: man who has lost God, loses also himself. Immorality is a natural consequence of ungodliness; but a consequence which has its ground in God's holy will, and is, therefore, a revelation of His righteous judgment (Rom. 1, 18). Impure desire, which even manifests itself in an unnatural form, first becomes associated with idolatry; and the sinful passion combines with animosity and hatred towards all that which opposes the gratification of unbridled sensuality and selfishness (Rom. 1, 25–31). Thus is sin punished by sin; and this punishment is the more appropriate, not only because the sin is practiced in spite of better knowledge, but also—a fine pyschological trait, although a terrible one—because at the same time there is united with this an unconcealed pleasure in those who do the same (Rom. 1, 32).

5. On a superficial observation, it might appear as though Judaism stood, in a religious and moral aspect, far above heathenism. It had, in reality, inestimable privileges and advantages. God had allowed the Gentiles to walk in their own ways, in that He conferred upon them no extraordinary revelation, while, on the other hand, this was granted to Israel (Acts 14, 16; Rom. 3, 2). But so much the less might the Jew exalt himself above the Gentile, since he, notwithstanding, became guilty of the same sins (Rom. 2, 1). It is true, *his* perverseness shows itself in another form: according to Paul, not so much voluptuousness as pride is the ruling sin of the Jews—self-conceit and harshness (Rom. 2, 17, sqq.), united with an obdurate impenitence in presence of the judgments of God (Rom. 2, 4. 5). But so far from this modified form of sin deserving a lesser punishment, the Jewish transgressor has, on the other hand, to expect especial tribulation and anguish, because he has sinned—not only like the heathen—against a natural law, but against a positive command (Rom. 2, 9–12). Outward circumcision avails nothing: conscientious Gentiles deserve the preference over unconscientious Jews (Rom. 2, 25–29). Thus, these last have not the slightest advantage in a moral respect, although they are privileged in a theocratic sense, and—Paul expresses it with the same inflexible severity as John the Baptist and Jesus himself—all pharisaic pride must

be humbled. After having powerfully repelled the possible objection that upon such a supposition the whole value of circumcision vanishes (Rom. 3, 1–8), he appeals for the justice of this his judgment (Rom. 3, 9–19), to their own law (Rom. 3, 19), i. e., to words of the whole Old Testament, especially regarded in its moral aspect. The description there given of the wickedness of the enemies of God, applies not less to the Jews than to the Gentiles; and since these two represent the totality of the sinful world, it is easy to infer his judgment upon the melancholy condition of the same.

6. It is, then, manifest that all are "under sin" (Rom. 3, 9), i. e., not merely sinners, but governed by the power of sin. The absolute universality of sin is, according to Paul, a fact proved successively by Scripture, by experience, and by consciousness; and had he foreseen the objection that his representation of the then Jewish and Gentile world, even supposing it to be a purely accurate one, proves nothing in regard to other individuals living at a later period, he would assuredly have answered that human nature remains the same in all ages. He directs the eye to the mass, as it divides itself in this way into two only apparently dissimilar halves, but thereby expresses at the same time his judgment upon the individuals themselves (comp. Rom. 3, 23; 5, 12; 11, 32). Result: "All the world is guilty before God," i. e., subject to the curse with which the law visits transgression (Rom. 3, 19; Gal. 3, 13).

7. Therefore, also, it follows that no flesh can be justified by works of law. In this inevitable conclusion (Rom. 3, 20), is pronounced the righteous judgment of God upon the whole Jewish and Gentile world. How heavily this judgment presses upon it, we shall hereafter see. For the present, we are concerned, first of all, with the question, What is the cause of such a lamentable condition?

Compare, for the explaining and confirming of Paul's judgment on the heathen and Jewish world, in addition to the well-known writings of Tholuck, Sepp, De Pressensé, and others, our "*Life of Jesus*," 2nd ed. I. bl. 265, and following. On Paul's representation of the misery of mankind without Christ, and of the period before Christ, two essays in *Waarh. en L.* 1837. On Paul's Natural Theology, Hebart, "*The Natural Theology of the Apostle Paul*," Nürnberg, 1860.

Questions for consideration. — Does Paul's judgment upon heathenism, Acts 17, 16 and following, perfectly agree with his judgment in Rom. 1, 18 and following?—Value of his judgment upon Judaism.—What is the sense of Rom. 2, 14. 15?—What logical force has the argument, Rom. 3, 9–20?

§ 35.

The Cause of this Condition.

The cause of this condition lies in the moral corruption of man, which, arising from the disobedience of our first parents, infects his whole nature, manifests itself in various degrees and forms, and—being by the law not simply bridled, but also nourished—necessarily leads to death as the wages of sin.

1. The question, Whence moral evil? was not only the life-question of the Gnosticism of the second century, but also a main question of the Christian gnosis of the first century. Paul also furnishes an answer to it, and there is no reason to see in this answer merely an impure fragment of his former Jewish theology. Hardly would the Apostle have adopted into his Christian doctrinal system what he had learned from the Old Testament, had he not, enlightened by the spirit of truth, regarded it as the true solution of the point in question. With full confidence, we will now direct our attention as well to his historical as to his psychological explanation of the origin of sin.

2. Sin (ἁμαρτία) is not with Paul, as with James and Peter, a sinful act, but a culpable principle, a power, which at a given time began to rule in the world. Sin "by one man entered into the world" (Rom. 5, 12). What is suggested by this word (εἰσῆλθε) is confirmed by other texts. More fully than any of his predecessors does Paul express himself as to the origin of a kingdom of darkness, of personal evil spirits, divided into different classes (Eph. 6, 12), fallen apparently through pride (1 Tim. 3, 6), and who, constantly active in the idolatrous heathen world (1 Cor. 10, 20), show themselves most hostile to the kingdom of Christ and his servants (2 Cor. 2, 10. 11).

That he regards Satan as the author of the Fall, is not, indeed, directly stated, but is in the highest degree probable (2 Cor. 11, 3. 14; comp. John 8, 44; also Book of Wisdom 2, 23. 24). He does not, however, enlarge upon this point, because he has not to do with the metaphysical, but with the historical origin of sin. He contemplates the world of men (κόσμος) as a unity, and declares that into it sin entered by one man, *Adam*, (not Eve, as has been inferred from 1 Tim. 2, 14). He means thereby not merely that Adam was the first sinner, whose example is directly followed by all, but—as becomes evident from the contrast between Adam and Christ—that between this first act of transgression and the sin which afterwards reigned, there exists a definite connection. In what this connection consists is indicated by what immediately follows: "Death by sin, and so death passed through to all men, for that (ἐφ' ᾧ) all have sinned;" and that not only *in Adam*, but also in *themselves*, as is manifest from the fact that death is universal, even among those who have not, like Adam, broken a positive command (Rom. 5, 13. 14). Still more clearly does the Apostle point out the true connection when he says (vs. 19) that, "through one man's transgression many were made (constituted) sinners," in other words have become sinners. If, in addition to this, we follow out the hint he gives us in his assertion, that the Jews as well as the Gentiles were by nature (φύσει, *indole sua*, Eph. 2, 3), children of wrath, and in his more general statement, that death came through a man (δι' ἀνθρώπου), (1 Cor. 15, 21), we have a perfect right to maintain that, according to Paul, human nature has become corrupt in consequence of its descent *from*, and its connection *with*, the first transgressor; and that death is by no means the consequence of the original organization of our nature, but penalty, the wages of sin (Rom. 6, 23).

Paul evidently implies, therefore, that the first man was originally neither sinful nor mortal. This is not in any way opposed by the fact that he elsewhere speaks of the first man as earthy (1 Cor. 15, 45–47), for earthy (χοϊκός) is not the same as evil. It is, moreover, scarcely to be supposed that Paul regarded matter (ὕλη) as the origin of sin, which would necessarily lead to the execrable conception of God as the cause of sin (Rom.

3, 8). He speaks, on the contrary, of the original image of God in man (Eph. 4, 23–24; Colos. 3, 9–10), and designates knowledge and holiness as lineaments thereof. While the first man, as such, was, indeed, a material being, there was involved in this the *possibility* only, not the necessity, of dying. That the possibility became a reality, is the especial consequence of sin. Sin and death are with Paul correlative ideas.

3. Since, then, sin has infected human nature, it lies in the nature of the case that it has defiled the whole man. In order rightly to apprehend the Apostle's conception of the psychological origin and the compass of sin in man, we must understand his anthropology. Paul is a trichotomist—that is, he distinguishes body, soul, and spirit. This is shown with especial clearness in his prayer for the Thessalonians (1 Thes. 5, 23). Even to the man who is unregenerate, the Apostle ascribes in distinction from the soul (ψυχή), a spirit (πνεῦμα); which, however, must be entirely renewed (Eph. 4, 23). To the spirit there is opposed, in the natural man, as a ruling power, the σάρξ, i. e., the flesh—by no means equivalent to *body*, σῶμα—the proper seat of sin (Rom. 7, 17. 18). By the word flesh, we are not to understand the dominion of the senses—in that case, contrary to the assertion of Paul (1 Tim. 4, 8), bodily discipline (asceticism) would be the best way to perfection, and it would be absolutely inexplicable how precisely the most spiritual of all sins, pride and want of affection, could be reckoned among the works of the flesh (Gal. 5. 20; Colos. 2, 18–23)—but (in the ethical sense of the word) the unsanctified human nature, as it opposes itself in a hostile manner to God, and all that is of God.* As the sinful man stands, through his spirit, in relationship with God, so does he, through his flesh, stand in relationship with the visible world, which offers to the desire of the flesh (ἐπιθυμία) a thousand attractive but forbidden objects. Life according to the flesh is consequently of necessity not a life of love, but of selfishness (2 Cor. 5, 15), the poisonous root, out of which grow of themselves, as it were, two opposite branches, the sins of pride and of sensuality.

Sin, as a principle (sinfulness) manifests itself in the act of

* Σάρξ is not = σῶμα, but = σῶμα + ψυχή, in opposition to πνεῦμα. On this account, also, the same thing is in the main implied by σαρκικός and ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος.

disobedience—in the doing of what is not becoming. This Paul indicates by different words—*παράπτωμα παράβασις, παρακοή, ἀπείθεια, ἀδικία.* Out of the heart, the central point of the personality, proceeds this evil power, darkening the understanding, and misusing, like a tyrant, the different members of the body as so many weapons (*ὅπλα*) wherewith to wage its shameful warfare against God and that which is good (Rom. 6, 13). If man yields to it, he becomes, in his whole inner and outer life, entirely under the dominion of the flesh—sold under sin. Hence the expressions, "to be in the flesh," "to live after the flesh," "to mind the things of the flesh," as indicating this melancholy condition. Without doubt, Paul concedes to the sinful man the power of free self-determination, inasmuch as voluntarily, even arbitrarily, he sins against God (Rom. 1, 28); how could man otherwise be held guilty and worthy of punishment (Rom. 2, 1)? Yea, even the heathen has in his conscience a lawgiver and an inflexible judge (Rom. 2, 15); and in this very conscience does the gospel seek and find in every man its secret point of contact (2 Cor. 4, 2; 5, 11*b*). But in the sinner, understanding and conscience are both defiled (Tit. 1, 15); and where his heart has become insensible, he has given himself up entirely to the service of unrighteousness (Eph. 4, 19). In such a condition, it is impossible to speak of the moral freedom of the sinner; sin is, in Paul's eyes, no infirmity, but a fatal power, which in spite of all protests of the reason and conscience, bears away the victory over the natural man. It may rise so high as not merely to blind, but harden the man, and even to cause him to find a natural pleasure in moral evil as such (Rom. 1, 32; Eph. 4, 19).

4. After what has been said, we cannot be surprised that the Apostle declares the mind of the flesh to be enmity against God and His law (Rom. 8, 7). So much the more natural, however, is the question, in what relation, according to his view, the law stands to sin. When Paul mentions the law (*ὁ νόμος*), he ordinarily means the Mosaic law, in its whole compass of moral and ceremonial commands, as the rule of life ordained by God. The law is by no means something sinful in itself, much less the cause of evil. It is true, indeed, as a general fact, that no sin is possible without law, but then, law is possible without sin. The

law is, in its contents and aim, holy, and just, and good (Rom. 7, 12; Gal. 3, 12). It was given "because of the transgressions," (Gal. 3, 19), *i. e.*, in order to restrain them it was added to the promise; it was like a stern disciplinarian, who brings unruly boys under control by holding over them the rod (Gal. 3, 24. 25). To this extent it exerts, after its own manner, a healthful reaction against the power of sin, and teaches man to recognize it as sin, *i. e.*, as the cause of guilt and punishment (Rom. 3, 20; 7, 7). But in spite of this, its excellent aim, the operation even of the best law can, for the sinful man, be only fraught with destruction. Without the law sin is dead (Rom. 7, 8), but through the commandment it revives. The law awakens in the sinner the slumbering desire after that which is evil, and calls forth on his part resistance against its own imperative requirements. Thus it becomes the power of sin (1 Cor. 15, 56)—a power which not only reveals sin, but also constantly increases it; yea, even was with this last aim appointed by God himself, inasmuch as He willed that, through the increase of sin, the need of redemption should be more deeply felt, and the revelation of His grace so much the more highly prized. The law, however, produces only wrath (Rom. 4, 15); the transgression of it incurs necessarily the manifestation of His displeasure, and thereby brings the transgressor into a condition of slavish fear, which excludes all love, and renders the estrangement only greater (Rom. 8, 15). On this account, also, no law is able to give life to the sinner (Gal. 3, 21), that is to say, to give him the true life of the spirit, which would enable him to fulfill God's will out of love. By works of the law, therefore, *i. e.*, works which the sinful man performs from the stand-point of law, can no flesh be justified before God (Rom. 3, 20). To him who fulfills the law, life is promised; he who transgresses it has thereby forfeited his life; restoration to God's favor and friendship by the fulfilling of the law is so impossible that all who proceed on this principle must, on the contrary, expect the curse (Gal. 3, 10).

In a word, the Mosaic law had—regarded from a Christian stand-point—only a temporary and provisional worth. There

* On the distinction between *νόμος* and *ὁ νόμος* as used by Paul, see Van Hengel on Rom. 2, 12. [Also, Winer, *New Test. Grammar*, § 19.]

was a time when all mankind objectively (Rom. 5, 13), and Paul subjectively (Rom. 7, 9), lived without the law. A time arrives for the Christian, in which he no longer stands under the law as a controlling and condemning power (Rom. 6, 15). But until this time has come, sin and misery are only increased by the law. It can hold forth the ideal before the sinner's eye, but can never render the attainment thereof possible.

5. Thus sin brings death, just because it is wrought in opposition to the command of the law. Necessarily it is now imputed (Rom. 5, 13), as well on this side as on the other side of the grave. The sinner comes short of the glory (δόξα) of God, *i. e.*, of the honor which he would have had with God, had he not sinned and become exposed to the righteous judgment which concentrates itself in death (Rom. 6, 21; comp. Gen. 2, 17). The Pauline idea of death is not easily defined in all its fullness. It is evident at a glance that we are not justified in restricting it to physical death alone, nor in entirely rejecting this idea. In every case the idea of spiritual death is also included (Eph. 2, 1. 5; Colos. 2, 13; Eph. 5, 14); and we cannot overlook the fact that death is, in the full sense the wages of sin, inasmuch as it ends in irretrievable perdition (ἀπώλεια). That Paul had also this latter in his mind, is clear from the antithesis of death and the gracious gift of eternal life (Rom. 6, 23). In the idea of death there is united, consequently, that of the greatest spiritual, temporal and everlasting wretchedness; and in the language of the Apostle, now this, now the other side of his subject comes into prominence. Spiritual death leads to temporal, and this passes over into eternal death (2 Cor. 7, 10).

Comp., on the principal points herein treated of, especially Ernesti, "*Of the origin of sin according to the doctrinal system of Paul*," 2 Thle., Gött., 1863–64; Tijssen, *Diss. Theol. Pauli, Anthropologiam exhibens*, Gron., 1847. On the law, Hamerster, *Diss. Theol. de lege e Pauli Ap. sententiâ*, Gron., 1838; Ritzschl, "*The Rise of the ancient Catholic Church*," 2 Aufl. 1857, S. 63–76.

Questions for consideration.—By what peculiarities is the demonology of Paul distinguished?—What significance for his

doctrine concerning man has the history of the Fall?—The trichotomy of man in the writings of Paul.—Paul's doctrine of the conscience.—What is the sense of Gal. 2, 19?—What of 1 Tim. 1, 8–10, as compared with the view taken of the law in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians?—Is, in Paul's teaching, even natural death to be regarded as a positive punishment of sin?

§ 36.

Its Consequences.

Subject to the power of sin and death, man is reduced to a state of woful discord, the traces of which are apparent even in the natural world and the consciousness of which, when it is once awakened, cannot but render him unspeakably wretched. In the feeling of this wretchedness is given, nevertheless, at the same time, the point at which inner receptiveness for the blessings of salvation begins.

1. However sad the condition into which sin has brought man (§ 35), it would be less unendurable if the *man* were entirely sunk in the *sinner*. This, however, according to the teaching of our Apostle, is certainly not the case; the original nature of man has been corrupted, indeed, by sin, but by no means annihilated. In consequence thereof, there naturally arises within the sinful heart a feeling of discord, which renders impossible the enjoyment of inward peace.

2. The Pauline representation of discord in the sinful heart must be distinguished from that which he says of the conflict in the heart of the believer (Gal. 5, 17). Even in the Christian, flesh and spirit do not cease to war against each other; but in the man who is yet out of Christ, while the spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα) is present, it is as a part of his nature which is slavishly bound; he is by nature fleshly, and sold under sin (Rom. 7, 14). When he begins, like Paul himself before his conversion, to come through the law to self-knowledge and a knowledge of his proper destiny, the law of his mind begins to struggle with the law in his members. There is seen now the discord be-

tween the sinful nature and the awakened conscience; but the fruitless conflict ever ends in a painful defeat, and the combatant remains an enigma to himself, unless his weakness is transformed into strength through another power than that of the law.*

3. Not in the microcosm of the human heart alone, but also in the macrocosm of the world, is reflected, in the view of the Apostle, the same element of discord. The whole creation—that is, all animate and inanimate nature—is unwillingly and in consequence of sin, subjected, through the will of God, to vanity, and awaits with longing expectation a redemption and glorifying which it shall receive only when the sighing of those who have the first fruits of the Spirit is heard, and the glory of the children of God shall have been made complete and manifest. Nature suffers with humanity, since its destiny is most intimately bound up with that of humanity: both look for the same thing—redemption.

4. Sinful man cannot be redeemed by the laying aside of the body of death, for death itself is a punishment which leads to greater misery (§ 35, 5). Paul speaks of a flaming fire, in which vengeance is taken on those who know not God, and

* We meet here one of the most difficult, but, at the same time, one of the most important, passages in the Pauline Epistles—Rom. 7, 7–24. The exposition—determined by dogmatic prepossession—which was current for centuries, would perhaps have afforded less room for difference of views, had not these two questions been unceasingly confounded:—"Of whom is the Apostle here speaking?" and "To whom is his striking description always more or less applicable?" That to the latter question the answer was given "To every believer," will surprise no one who is no stranger to the domain of spiritual life. But from this it by no means follows that Paul is actually describing the life of the believer. Against this supposition is (1) the connection and entire aim of his reasoning; (2) the fact that he describes a conflict not of the *πνεῦμα*, but of the *νοῦς* (the inward man) which pertains also to the unregenerate as against the flesh; and (3) his description in ver. 14 is not consistent with the idea of Christian freedom as presented in 8, 2; 6, 17, 18, and Gal. 5, 24. He is manifestly describing his former state in the light of his present condition, and the *present* in which he speaks is partly to be explained by the vividness of his description, partly by the fact that the after-pains of this melancholy condition were still perceptible, inasmuch as perfect redemption was not yet enjoyed. In Rom. 7, it is neither the mere natural man who is described, nor the Christian in his normal state; but the *sinner under the law*, who is beginning to awake and strive after better things, the object of the *gratia præparans et præveniens*. Paul's words will recall the words of many an earnest-minded heathen: *e. g.*, the '*Video meliora, proboque*," &c.

reject the Gospel—of the suffering of punishment, even everlasting destruction, in banishment from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of His power (2 Thess. 1, 9). Elsewhere, also, it appears that he represents this judgment under figures like those of his contemporaries. Nowhere is there found even a single hint that he looks for any diminution or removal of this punishment. He proclaims, indeed, diverse heavy judgments, which are determined in degree by the greater or lesser amount of light by which the transgressor was surrounded; but even the heathen do not escape unpunished, when they sin against the light of conscience (Rom. 2, 9–12). On the part of man, also, nothing is to be reaped from sowing to the flesh except corruption (φθορά. Gal. 6, 8). Before rejecting this teaching of the Apostle concerning a last judgment as an unimportant remnant of his former rabbinical learning, we shall do well to ask whether the Apostle here in any way proceeds beyond that which is warranted by the word of the Lord himself and the figurative language of the Old Testament prophetical books.

5. Man, who is conscious of such a division within himself, and looks forward to such a judgment, must necessarily feel himself unspeakably miserable. Nevertheless, that which is his deepest source of suffering becomes, on the other hand, his happiness: the sinner—precisely at the time when he feels himself irretrievably lost, and *inasmuch as* he does so feel himself—can be saved. The consciousness of his own misery (Rom. 7, 23–25) is at the same time the inner point of contact for the work of redemption. Herein is the fallen man distinguished from the fallen angel, whom Paul never otherwise represents than as taking pleasure in corrupting, and as given up to everlasting perdition. If, however, the salvation of the sinner, which is in this way psychologically possible, is to become an actual fact, it must proceed from God himself.

On Rom. 7, 7–24, see the Prize Essays of Fockens and Bergsma crowned by the Hague Society (1832) and especially the Commentaries of Tholuck and Lange. On Rom. 8, 19–23, our "*Christol. of the N. T.*," bl. 300–311, and Lange. The whole Pauline conception of the depth of this wretchedness has, perhaps, after Augustine and Luther, been better understood

by no one than by Blaise Pascal. See the Dissertation on this subject by Dr. Wijnmalen, Utr. 1865.

Questions for consideration.—What opinion are we to form as to the person who is introduced as speaking in Rom. 7, 7–24? —Summary and criticism of the most important expositions of Rom. 8, 19–23.—Harmony and criticism of the whole doctrine of man's misery as contained in Paul and in Augustine.—Its permanent truth and value.

SECOND DIVISION.

Mankind and the individual man through and in Christ.

§ 37.

The Plan of Salvation.

The righteousness of God, which, on account of sin is wanting both to Jew and Gentile, is promised and presented to the sinner in a way very different from that of his own merit. The Gospel of the New Testament proclaims the mystery of a Divine plan of salvation, which, formed before the foundation of the world, was shadowed forth throughout the whole preparatory economy of the Old Testament, and revealed in the fulness of time; which embraces the Jewish and Gentile world, heaven and earth, and in its gradual development shows forth, with a lustre before unknown, the majesty and glory of God.

1. What could proceed from God alone has actually been bestowed by God. With Paul it is a certain fact that God in Christ has done that which to the law was impossible (Rom. 8, 3. 4). If it is impossible that God should be the efficient cause of moral evil (Rom. 3, 8), so it is equally certain that He is the cause of all that is spiritually good (1 Cor. 1, 30). Therefore, also, God, in the whole fullness of His being, is called

the Saviour (1 Tim. 1, 1; 2, 3; σωτήρ, a truly Pauline characteristic in the Pastoral Epistles), whose love to sinners—a love, however, which had been entirely forfeited by them—bears the character of grace, and bestows upon them that which reason, left to itself, is not able even to comprehend (1 Cor. 2, 9).

2. The Gospel of this grace is consequently, in the view of our Apostle, something absolutely new—not the continuation of the old order, but its direct opposite. It is the joyful message of the sinner's justification before God through faith in Christ, and, as such, a revealed secret (μυστήριον). For the word *mystery* has, in the usage of our Apostle, a sense entirely different from that in which it was employed at a later period. It signifies a matter which was before unknown, but has now come to light, and on this account ceases to be hidden, although, even after it has been made known to men, it retains its obscure and mysterious side (Rom. 11, 33). "Understanding in the mystery" is obtained only through revelation (Eph. 3, 3. 4)—a peculiar supernatural act of God, which is indicated by Paul in different words—ἀποκάλυψις, φανέρωσις, etc.—in using which, however, it cannot be shown that he sharply distinguishes between them in order to express in each case a different idea of revelation. What, on the other hand, is still concealed in the future, remains till then a mystery, which from the nature of the case, can be believed only on the word of him who declares it (1 Cor. 15, 51). Although Paul enumerates several such mysteries, all of which fall within the domain of Christian knowledge (1 Cor. 13, 2; 14, 2), yet preëminently the Gospel is with him the *one* great mystery of Christ (Eph. 6, 19; Col. 4, 3), which exhibits a character by no means speculative, but, on the contrary, one especially practical (1 Tim. 3, 16).

3. That which is new did not on this account come in without preparation. The New Testament is essentially contained in the Old, and is witnessed by the law which is replaced by it, and by the prophets, of whom it is a glorious fulfillment (Rom. 3, 21. 22). No Apostle has shown a deeper insight into the whole course of the world's history than Paul. His philosophic eye sees in the whole pre-Christian period one long age of preparation which was brought to completion only in the coming of Christ (Gal. 4, 4). He is the end of the law (Rom.

10, 4), the goal to which its whole economy tended; and while, before his appearing, God allowed the Gentiles, in a certain sense, to walk in their own ways (Acts 14, 16), yet the most privileged nation under the old covenant resembled a child who has not yet come to full age (Gal. 4, 1, and following). On this account, he could regard an abandoning of Christianity only as a relapse into an earlier stage which had been already left behind (Gal. 4, 9), and must look upon the obstinate unbelief of the Jews (2 Cor. 3, 14; 4, 4), as a fruit of the most lamentable blindness. The Gospel, which is of a spiritual nature, cannot possibly be understood by the psychical man as such, for it must be spiritually judged of (1 Cor. 2, 14). And no wonder, since it makes acquainted with God's purpose of saving sinners—in former ages hidden from men—a purpose which has been formed and carried into execution in accordance with his own plan.

4. The salvation proclaimed in the Gospel is nothing else than the carrying out in time of that which God had determined within himself from all eternity. Even in his earliest writings, Paul shows that he regards those who believe in Christ as elect of God (1 Thes. 1, 4; 2 Thes. 2, 13), in whom the ideal of ancient Israel is most beautifully realized (Gal. 6, 16). Especially in the Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians (Rom. 9–11; Eph. 1, 4, sqq.) does this idea come prominently into the foreground. The Apostle speaks of a Divine plan of salvation the center of which is Christ, and its end the bright revelation of God's glorious perfection (Rom. 11, 36). This plan was no more originated in consequence of sin than it can be permanently frustrated by the power of sin. It is eternal as God, and is founded not on any excellence of man himself, but in God's adorable and unchangeable good pleasure: not *because* believers are holy, but *in order that* they may become so, has God chosen them (Eph. 1, 4,); and this their faith is not the cause, but only the sign of their election unto salvation. Without doubt, Paul recognizes a Divine calling and election to a participation in the blessings of (outward) Christianity; yet he nowhere makes an essential difference between this and the calling and election to everlasting salvation. He could not, indeed, make this distinction, since those to whom

he explains this mystery were, as a rule, Christian believers. Without doubt, he speaks of the choice of the Gentiles in their totality (Rom. 9–11), as opposed to the national rejection of the Jews; but nowhere is there to be found a single proof that he entertains any other view than that of personal election to salvation with regard to the individuals of whom this totality is composed (ἡ ἐκλογή). The contrary is manifest from the way in which he views the history of Jacob, Esau, and Pharaoh and in which he consoles believers, and urges them to the work of sanctification, by reminding them of their personal predestination. "All this is singularly clear, and certainly it will not be with exegetical arguments that the system which the Augustines, the Calvins, the Gomars have built up upon these premises can henceforth be combated" (Reuss).

5. The Divine plan of salvation is in itself one and indivisible, but is for the individual only gradually realized. God has known His own from eternity in love (πρόγνωσις), and on this account has foreordained them (προώρισεν) to be conformed to the image of His Son. Only on dogmatic grounds can one desire to draw a sharp line of distinction between these two terms: in an impartial examination of the Pauline system of thought, they flow, as it were, the one into the other. "Willingly will we let pass this distinction, which in fact only conceals without revealing anything" (Schleiermacher). Both belong to the sphere of eternity; in time, on the other hand, is the calling (κλῆσις) with which the personal safe-conduct of the believer to the blessedness designed for him begins. The Apostle, in employing this term, conceives of no mere outward call, but one which is, at the same time, inwardly understood and accepted. Wherever there is a calling in the Pauline sense of the word, *there*, at the same time, is the germ of faith and of conversion; and herein lies the logical ground for the called being spoken of as those who are here justified and hereafter glorified. That they are, however, the one and the other, they owe exclusively to the absolute good pleasure of God (εὐδοκία τοῦ θελήματος), which is inseparably one with his moral perfection, and consequently partakes in no degree whatever of an arbitrary character (Eph. 1, 5–11).

6. Such a doctrine would appear harsh, considered apart from all connection with the sovereign omnipotence of God on the one hand, and the absolute reprobation due to sin on the other hand. But it is precisely to this connection that the Apostle draws attention, when (Rom. 9–11) he discusses from the apologetic stand-point the exclusion of the Jews from the blessings of the kingdom of God, as opposed to the reception of the Gentiles. While he gives expression to his heart-felt sorrow for the fate of his nation, he shows (*a*) that Israel's rejection (9, 6–13) does not conflict with the unchangeableness of God, since the promises of salvation in the Old Testament are ever made to the true, *i. e.*, the believing Israel; and just as little (*b*) with the righteousness of God (9, 14–29), since God is indebted to no one, and, as Lord, has the sovereign disposal of every creature; still less (*c*) with His holiness, since this rejection is only the just punishment of Israel's unbelief (9, 30—10, 21); least of all (*d*) with His truth, compassion, and grace, since Israel's fall becomes salvation to the Gentiles; and, more than this, is to be followed by its own restoration (Rom. 11). He does not, indeed, in this manner, remove all objections; but, nevertheless, by a constant reference on the one hand to the pregnant texts and examples of the Old Testament, and on the other hand to the exalted majesty of God, he reduces to silence obdurate gainsaying. His object is manifestly to establish the doctrine of God's free grace, not so much against all working and striving on our part, as against all self-righteousness and all human merit.

7. Belief in God's unalterable decree is for Paul no object of abstract reasoning. "Paul is not here a philosopher, who is deducing scientifically the formulas of metaphysics; he is an advocate who is pleading the cause of God" (Bonifas). Far from commending an *à priori* searching into this revealed mystery, he rather teaches believers, standing, as it were, at the end of their journey, to look back upon that which God has destined for them in Christ; that by meditating thereon, both the fruitfulness and the joy of their faith may be increased. While acknowledging that, even by the manifestation and punishment of obdurate unbelief, God's eternal counsel is fulfilled, he regards this unbelief itself as a fault, for which men

are personally responsible. As it is impossible to mistake the plain sense of Romans 9, so also is it unjustifiable to separate this chapter arbitrarily from the tenth and eleventh. The true synthesis of the apparently irreconcilable antinomy between the Divine predestination and human freedom is not stated even by Paul. It suffices him to lay upon the second member no less stress than upon the first—not merely to bewail the unbelief of Israel as a sad fact, but as a great sin—and to await from the future the solution of a problem which is for unbelief a stone of stumbling, but is already for faith an occasion for deepest adoration.

8. This it must be in the widest sense of the word, since God's plan of salvation extends not to this world alone, but to the whole creation. The great thought of God to unite all things under one head has reference not only to men, but also to angels—not only to earth, but also to heaven (Eph. 1, 10; Colos. 1, 20). If we meditate somewhat deeply upon this Divine purpose, it manifests to us God's adorable wisdom (Eph. 3, 9–12), but, above all, the inexhaustible riches of His grace, and along with these His adorable foreknowledge (Rom. 11, 33–36), in a light in which they could not otherwise be seen, and which calls forth from the Apostle a strain of exultation (Rom. 8, 31–39), of which even Erasmus, full of admiration, exclaimed: "*Quid unquam Cicero dixit grandiloquentius?*" No wonder—the eloquence of Cicero had never such material to dispose of; and not talent, but the heart, guided the pen of Paul.

Compare the Academical Dissertations of Van Staveren, *de Evang. Naturâ*, Gron. 1839; Van Gesseler, *de præpar. Jud. et Gentil. ad Relig. Chr. accip.*, Gron. 1839; Boeles, *de Mysteriis in Rel. Chr.*, Gron. 1843; Van Bell, *de Patefact. Christ. indole*, Lugd. Batav. 1849. And, above all, the dissertation of Lamping, (*Diss.*) *Pauli de prædest. Doctrinam exponens*, Traj. 1860. Also the work of G. W. Krummacher, "*The Doctrine of Election*" (Exposition of Rom. 9, 11), Duisburg, 1856. [Compare also the Commentaries of Ellicott on Galatians and Ephesians; and Goodwin's Exposition of various passages of the Epistle to the Ephesians. 2 vols. (reprinted), Edin. 1861.]

Questions for consideration.—What is with Paul the proper essence of the Gospel?—What does he teach in Col. 2, 16, 17?—The Gospel a revealed mystery.—The way of life under the old covenant, Rom. 4.—The psychological ground for Paul's doctrine of predestination.—Its relation to the Pauline universalism.—Connection and difference of the Pauline doctrine with that of Augustine and Calvin.—Does Paul teach reprobation as unconditionally as he proclaims predestination to everlasting life?—To what extent has the Apostle succeeded in removing the objection that God is made the author of sin?—Does Paul's doctrine of predestination contain no necessary premises to that of the restoration of all things?—Argument of Rom. 8, 28–30.—Sense, beauty, and power of Rom. 8, 31–39.—The doxology, Rom. 11, 33–36.

§ 38.

The Christ.

The Divine plan of salvation has for its centre Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour of sinners, who appeared on earth in human flesh, that, as the second Adam, He might be the spiritual head of the new humanity. Relatively little does Paul communicate concerning the Lord's earthly history; but every conception of His person in which He is regarded either as man only in appearance, or as a *mere* man, is expressly condemned by the doctrine of the Apostle.

1. It belongs to the excellencies of the Pauline theology, that he ever considers the plan of salvation in connection with Him in whom it has been realized. Christ is for him the centre, not merely of the Gospel, but of the whole history of the world. Although in his teaching he throughout takes his departure from *man* (§ 33. 4), he yet rises unceasingly to Him in whom the ideal of mankind is realized; and while he manifestly lays greater stress upon his testimony concerning the work of the Lord than upon that concerning His person, he has yet expressed himself regarding the latter in a manner which leaves no room for doubt as to what he really thinks on this subject.

2. The Tübingen school has asserted that the Christology of the latest letters preserved under the name of Paul exhibits a different character from that of the four whose genuineness it acknowledges. In itself, this would occasion no difficulty; certainly not if we believe that the Holy Ghost was leading the Apostle, in giving this part of his testimony also, from light to light, from strength to strength. If those epistles in which we find his loftiest Christological thoughts, e. g., those to the Colossians and Philippians, were composed in the time of, and partly with reference to, the earliest Gnostic errors, nothing prevents us from supposing that precisely this error urged the Apostle so much the more powerfully to declare the truth. The case would certainly be different if anything were asserted in the later epistles which was denied in the earlier, or the converse. How little this is really the case is evident from the fact, that the points of departure and commencement for the lines of thought which run through his latest writings are constantly to be discovered in his earliest.

3. That Paul relates but little of the words, deeds, and events of the Lord's earthly life, strikes us at once, from a glance at his writings. With the exception of a single saying (Acts 20, 35) he never appeals to the words of the Master, and even of the history of His life he mentions only a few particulars. The attempt has been made on apologetic grounds to gather a life of Jesus out of the writings of Paul; but the harvest has been only scanty. The First Epistle of Peter alone contains more reminiscences, e. g., of the history of our Lord's sufferings, than all the Epistles of Paul. The cause is to be sought in the fact that Paul had no personal intercourse with the Lord, and attaches to this privilege, the want of which had been so richly compensated in his experience, but a subordinate value (2 Cor. 5, 16). Not the teaching and suffering, but the risen and glorified Christ, is here above all brought into the foreground; he has less to do with Jesus in himself than with Jesus as *the Christ*. With the proclamation of this truth he comes forward immediately after his conversion (Acts 9, 20, where *Jesus* is to be read instead of *Christ*, and *Son of God* must be understood as a title of the Messiah). He defends it, in presence of Jew and Gentile, by an appeal to the Holy Scriptures (Acts 17, 3; 18, 5);

and though he repeatedly lays stress upon the circumstances that the Lord sprang from David's seed (Rom. 1, 3; 2 Tim. 2, 8), this is doubtless because His princely descent was an absolutely necessary condition of His Messiahship.

4. There is no ground for supposing that Paul doubted in any respect the true humanity of the Lord. He describes Him as being born of a woman (Gal. 4, 4), partaker of the weakness of our nature (2 Cor. 13, 4), and sets His mind and feelings as an example before the eyes of His followers (Phil. 2, 5). But just as little can we doubt that Paul saw in the Lord one who was more than man; and that not merely in the middle or at the close of his Apostolic labors, but at their very beginning. He had, indeed, beheld the persecuted Nazarene in more than earthly glory (Acts 26, 13, *sqq.*), and at once acknowledged that He whom the Jews had crucified was none less than the Lord of Glory himself (1 Cor. 2, 8). Does this mean simply that He is now living in glory? Even the peculiar manner in which Paul speaks of the human nature in Christ, leads to the supposition that such an explanation is too weak. He calls Him, indeed, the second man, but the one who is "from heaven," (1 Cor. 15, 47, according to the shorter reading) and declares that God sent his Son "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom. 8, 3), which would, at least, sound strange, if this Son had claimed no personal pre-existence, and had not very clearly distinguished himself from sinful flesh. That this latter also is the view of the Apostle is increasingly clear, when we hear him designate Christ as the image of God, in whose countenance the glory of God is seen (2 Cor. 4, 4–6); God's own beloved Son (Rom. 8, 32; compare Eph. 1, 6), as such beyond doubt, declared (proclaimed) with power by the resurrection from the dead (Rom. 1, 4); proclaimed, but by no means *constituted*, the Son of God thereby. How else were it possible that He was already working under the old covenant (1 Cor. 10, 4. 9), yea, as the Apostle plainly teaches, was rich with God even before His voluntary incarnation (2 Cor. 8, 9)? Certainly he distinguishes the Son from the Father, and places Him in regard to the Father in a relation of definite dependence (1 Cor. 3, 23; 11, 3; Eph. 1, 17); but, nevertheless, he does not hesitate a moment to speak of Him as the mediate cause through which

all, without exception, has been called into existence (1 Cor. 8, 6), tacitly to apply to Him that which in the Old Testament is spoken of God (Rom. 10, 13), and to exalt Him—for only thus can we at least read or understand the words, Rom. 9, 5—as God, above all blessed for ever.

5. We regard it as a hopeless undertaking, in presence of such expressions of the Apostle's mind, to persist in the assertion that the Christ of the four universally acknowledged epistles is nothing but the heavenly man (BAUR). Even the connection into which His name is brought with that of God the Father on the one hand, and of the Holy Spirit on the other, leads us to a higher conception; and the metaphysical element of the Pauline Christology becomes still more evident when we direct our attention to his later utterances, and observe in them, instead of conflicting ideas, the fairest harmony and development. This is seen to be the case in the *locus classicus* of the Epistle to the Philippians (Phil. 2, 5–11), where he represents the Son of God first in his pre-mundane existence, then in his earthly humiliation, and finally in his heavenly glory; and describes the incarnation as a voluntary laying aside of this original form of God in which He might have continued to live and reign. We think, however, especially of the sublime words in the Epistle to the Colossians (Colos. 1, 15–20), in which the Apostle places the Son of God's love in a relation, on the one hand to the Father, on the other to the world, and again to the kingdom of God, which would be absolutely inconceivable, unless in Him the fullness of the Godhead (Colos. 2, 9) dwelt bodily as in a holy temple. Only on the assumption that this latter was really the Apostle's idea, can we understand the appellation which he gives to the Lord—as an unbiassed exegesis seems to require us to understand his words—of "our great God and Saviour," (Tit. 2, 13), and the doxology addressed to Him at the close of his Apostolic course (2 Tim. 4, 18*b*), which he, the strict monotheist, would, without doubt, have been the first to condemn as a sinful deification of the creature, had not Christ, according to his conviction, possessed a nature and dignity which raises Him above all created beings.

6. And yet, however certain and important all this may be, it does not explain the entirely unique position which Christ

occupies in the Pauline scheme of doctrine. Not as a supernatural manifestation or Divine person itself, but as *man, the* man by way of excellence—precisely because He is from heaven—is the Lord all things to Paul, not only for his faith and life, but also for his thinking. It is more than an accident that he speaks of the mediator between God and man with so great emphasis as the man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. 2, 5); the whole work of redemption had been to Paul entirely inconceivable were this man human only in appearance. The philosophic spirit of the Apostle manifests its striving after unity notably in the fact, that in the history of mankind he repeatedly discovers a point of unity, and as from the first Adam he sees sin and death, so from the second he sees redemption and life proceed (Rom. 5, 12–21; 1 Cor. 15, 21–22). He contrasts Christ with Adam, as the higher with the lower, as the spiritual with the merely natural principle of life (1 Cor. 15, 45–47). Because he was perfectly Divine, He could be perfectly human, and, in so far as humanity enters into a personal union with Him, at the same time, the Creator of a new principle of life. On this account Paul attaches so great a value to the absolute purity and sinlessness of the Lord (2 Cor. 5, 21; Phil. 2, 8; comp. Rom. 8, 3; 15, 3). There lies in this also the ground for the supposition, that if Paul does not mention the supernatural conception and holy birth of the Lord, he yet cannot have denied or doubted it. In connection with his doctrine of sin, it is also inconceivable that, according to his view, the second Adam came less immediately than the first, through a miraculous intervention of Divine power. As the faultless head of a new humanity, Christ has for Paul the highest, yea, an everlasting importance. And here we reach the point at which we can understand the peculiarity of his own Soteriology.

Comp. our "*Christology of the N. T.*," bl. 214–250; Beyschlag, "*For the Pauline Christology*" in the Studien und Kritiken, 1860, S. 431 ff; "*Christology of the N. T.*," S 201–256; Koltoff, *Vita Jesu Christi a Paulo Apost. adumbrata* (1842): Rabiger, *Comment. de Christol. Paulinâ contra Baurium*, Bresl. 1852. On Philip. 2, 6-8, the Commentaries of Meyer, [Alford, and Ellicott]. On Colos. 1, 15–20 see

the Dissert. of S. HOFMEIJER, *de Πρωτοτόκῳ*, Traject. 1856, and of J. CRAMER, *de Arianismo*, Traj. 1858.

Questions for consideration.—Connection between the Pauline Christology and the doctrine of predestination.—Nature and importance of that which Paul communicates regarding the history of the Lord.—Exposition and defence of the most important texts here referred to.—Critical review of the texts in which, according to the ordinary reading and exposition, the title of *Θεός* is given to the Lord.—Harmony and difference between the first and the second Adam, according to Paul.

§ 39.

The Work of Redemption.

The whole earthly and heavenly life of Christ—especially His voluntary self-surrender to the death of the Cross, and His glorious resurrection on the third day—has the definite aim of redeeming mankind from the guilt and dominion of sin, and thereby restoring to man the salvation he has lost through the disobedience of the first Adam. At the same time, the way which the Gospel opens to this goal is diametrically opposed to that which the law presented: the justification of the sinner herein proclaimed is a justification only through faith.

1. The soteriology of Paul is not only richer than his Christology, but it bears, besides this, a highly peculiar character. This peculiarity is manifest even in the first Apostolic missionary address of his with which we are acquainted (Acts 13, 38. 39). The Pauline doctrine of redemption is, above all things, a doctrine of justification (comp. § 33, 3), a doctrine which he presents with evident preference; in the Epistle to the Romans more thetically (i. e. by way of statement), in the Epistle to the Galatians more polemically, and which he once even (Rom. 1, 16. 17) announces as the essential doctrine of the Gospel. By the term "righteousness of God" (*δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ*) Paul understands in this connection no attribute of God, but a state before Him; a righteousness conferred by God through

grace—in the way of imputation—upon the sinner, whom God regards and treats as just; and which is consequently diametrically opposed to any self-righteousness before God, which the sinner seeks to establish by the most exact fulfillment of the demands of the law (Rom. 10, 3; Phil. 3, 9). With his eye fixed upon the distinction once conferred upon Abraham (Gen. 15, 6), the true Israelite—especially the Pharisee—knew no higher blessing than that of being righteous (צַדִּיק) before God. Paul himself had formerly sought this in the way of works (Phil. 3, 4–8), but had recognized the folly of this attempt, and had acknowledged the highest value of the Gospel precisely in the fact that it opens up an entirely different way to the desired goal. He mentions, it is true, and glories in, other blessings conferred by God in Christ (1 Cor. 1, 30), but nevertheless justification occupies the highest place (Rom. 10, 4) in his estimation. In Christ the sinner, who regards personal participation in the favor of God as the highest of all the blessings of salvation, finds that which he elsewhere seeks in vain.

2. If we ask the Apostle what Christ has done and is yet doing to this end, we find that even the Lord's coming in the flesh is regarded by him as connected with the condemnation of sin, but thereby also with the restoration of the sinner (Rom. 8, 3. 4; 1 Tim. 1, 15). He likewise directs us to His precepts and example as the rule of the new life (Gal. 6, 2; Phil. 2, 5). But, above all, he presents, as of supreme importance, the death of Christ and His resurrection from the grave; two events between which he sees the closest connection (Rom. 4, 25). This is the truth which he first proclaims to the Corinthian Church, and of which he has afterwards to remind them (1 Cor. 15, 3. 4). Hence, gathering into a single sentence the burden of all his preaching, he points to Jesus Christ the crucified (1 Cor. 1, 23; 2, 2; Gal. 6, 14). Yet he does not attach any less value to the life of the Lord in glory than to His life in His humiliation. Let us see how he insists on the connection of both with the work of salvation.

3. That Christ truly died is no where proved by Paul, because it was not, like his resurrection from the dead, doubted. But so much the greater stress does he lay upon the fact that He must suffer (Acts 26, 23); and far from finding therein only

a mysterious lot, he presents the Lord's giving of himself up for the suffering of death rather as an act of high moral significance; an act, however, in no degree arbitrary, much less separated from the whole life which preceded it. The later theological distinction between the active and passive obedience of Christ, is least of all to be justified by an appeal to our Apostle. The whole life of the Lord is with him *one* act of obedience, which finds its point of culmination in the death on the cross (Phil. 2, 8). He was not merely delivered (Rom. 4, 25), but gave himself up (Gal. 1, 4; 2, 20), according to the will and counsel of the Father; moved thereto by a love which passeth all understanding (Eph. 3, 19), and which, gloriously displayed towards the unworthy, bears the character of grace (2 Cor. 8, 9). Because the Lord's death is such a moral act, it is a sacrifice which could be only well pleasing to God (Eph. 5, 2). On acconnt of this perfect harmony of both, the Apostle could elsewhere say, God spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all (Rom. 8, 32).

4. As to the true nature of this sacrifice, Paul does not leave us long in uncertainty, when he writes that God set forth the Saviour as a propitiatory sacrifice (ἱλαστήριον, Rom. 3, 25) through faith in His blood. For the same reason, he calls Christ in His death the Passover of Christians (1 Cor. 5, 7); for the Paschal Lamb also was originally a sin-offering. Manifestly he implies that by the self-sacrifice of Christ was really effected that which was symbolically represented by the Mosaic ritual (Colos. 2, 17). Such a covering of guilt before the eye of God was necessary on God's side for the manifestation (ἔνδειξις) of His rightcousness, on account of the temporary passing over of sins formerly committed (Rom. 3, 25); and indispensable for man, in order to procure for him that blessedness which he had forfeited through his sins. There is, consequently, according to Paul, a direct connection between the Lord's self-surrender, and the sins of the world (Rom. 4, 25). Not merely by means of sinners, but on behalf of sinners (1 Cor. 15, 3), did Christ die; and the consequence which this act at once brings with it is, that these sinners, on their entering into communion with Him, no longer need to die for their sins. Death is the punishment of sin, and from this revelation of wrath they are deliv-

ered in Christ. Through his blood we have redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις), and this is concentrated in the forgiveness of sins, because in forgiveness is already contained (in principle) every other blessing.

5. The extent of this blessedness will be treated of hereafter (§ 40). Here the remark may suffice, that the righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) before God which is the portion of the believer, is a fruit of justification (δικαίωσις), and this, in turn, is the fruit of the shed blood of atonement. No wonder that the price at which such a salvation was obtained is called by the Apostle great (1 Cor. 6, 20); a statement which is only apparently in conflict with another statement, namely, that we are saved by grace. The former has reference to the immediate ground; the latter to the source and primary cause of the benefit. If we ask the Apostle as to the connection between the propitiatory death of the Lord and the justification of the sinner, he replies that the righteousness in which the sinner may now glory is an imputed righteousness, that of the righteous and holy Christ. By virtue of the law of the most intimate vital communion, all which is ours becomes His, and all which is His becomes ours. He is treated as personal sin (2 Cor. 5, 21), in order that sinners may in Him be regarded and treated as righteous. He bears on the cross the curse of the law, in order that He may redeem us therefrom (Gal. 3, 13). Paul, then, doubtless, conceives of the Lord as dying not merely for the benefit of, but actually *instead of*—but of whom? In general he mentions "ungodly ones" (Rom. 5, 6), without any restriction [of race or people], affirms that God will have all to be saved, and glories in Christ as the Mediator—a word which is found only in Paul, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews—between God and men (1 Tim. 2, 4. 5). But especially is it Christians who know that One has died for them all, in consequence of which they now all live (Rom. 8, 32; 2 Cor. 5, 15). There is no contradiction between the one statement and the other, if we simply observe a just distinction between the design and the fruit of the Lord's propitiatory death. Where this fruit is enjoyed, there the self-surrender of the Son of God is at the same time regarded as the highest revelation of a love which saves the sinner by the self same act by which it righteously condemns the sin. The idea

of a conflict between God's righteousness and grace is of later origin by some centuries, than the writings of Paul.

6. The expiation of sin (ἱλαστήριον) is the basis of the reconciliation (καταλλαγή) between the sinner and his holy Creator. In this latter sense, also, the atonement proceeds from God, who on this account is called not only "the Justifier" (Rom. 8, 33, ὁ δικαιῶν) but also "the Reconciler" (2 Cor. 5, 19, καταλλάσσων); who has in Christ reconciled the whole world (κόσμος) to himself; yea, has brought about a reconciliation in divided humanity (Eph. 2, 14–16), and has thus restored peace between heaven and earth (Colos. 1, 20). For the enmity existed not on the part of God, but only on the part of men (Rom. 5, 10; 8, 7), and is now, by the manifestation of the highest love, vanquished and slain on the Cross (Eph. 2, 14–16). Thus, by the death of the Lord, the broken bond is restored between man and his God, as well as between Jew and Gentile, and the power of darkness vanquished and led in open triumph (Colos. 2, 14, 15); while, on the other hand, all believers are, through the love of Christ, united in one holy communion (Eph. 5, 25–27).

7. The community whose guilt is thus covered, is at the same time in Christ delivered from the dominion of sin; the forgiveness of sin, the great aim of His death, becoming thus the means to a higher aim—the sanctification of all His people. In the Apostle's conception, the one is inseparably connected with the other. On the one hand, it is certain that Christians, on account of the death of Christ, no longer need to die for their sins; on the other hand, that they have, with Him, died to sin (2 Cor. 5, 14, Greek text). The communion of faith between the Lord and them, symbolised in baptism, is so close that because He has died to sin they may be regarded as being, with Him, dead to sin (Rom. 6, 3–11). The cruel tyrant, whose wages they here once received (in Him), has, in consequence thereof, lost all right to them, and all claim upon them. They are henceforth to regard themselves as dead to sin, that they may live exclusively to God. The death of Christ is not only the life of His people, but also the crucifixion of their old man. Their spiritual unity with Him, in other words, renders it impossible for them any longer to serve sin; through faith in

Him, its dominion is, in principle, destroyed. That this is indeed the ultimate aim of the Lord's death we are reminded by the Apostle in various ways in his epistles from the earliest to the latest. (See, for example, 1 Thess. 5, 10; Gal. 1, 4; 2, 20; 2 Cor. 5, 15; 1 Cor. 6, 20; Rom. 8, 4; Eph. 5, 2; Colos. 1, 22; Titus 2, 14). Not only to individuals, but to the whole community, does this gracious purpose extend (Eph. 5, 25–27). And it can and will be so much the more certainly accomplished, as Christ is not merely the Dead but also the Risen Christ.

8. Far from separating for a moment the Lord's death from His new life, Paul rather brings both facts into such close connection, that we might almost doubt which of them, in his estimation, holds the first place. It is at least certain that with him the resurrection is not of *less* soteriological importance than the death of our Lord on the Cross; yea, that in a certain sense he gives the preëminence to the former (Rom. 4, 25; 5, 10; 8, 34). No wonder, since the resurrection is, on the one hand, the pledge of the certainty and perfection of the completed atonement; on the other hand, the fountain, the type, and the power of the new life of those who are spiritually one with the risen Christ.

9. We cannot feel surprised that Paul, not less than Peter (§ 27), places in the foreground (Acts 13, 30; 17, 3. 31; 23, 6; 2 Tim. 2, 8, and many other passages) the resurrection of the Lord; yea, with warmth defends it (1 Cor. 15, 4–8). In his case likewise the new life sprang from the sight of the Risen One, and to him the whole Gospel stood or fell with the recognition of this indisputable fact (1 Cor. 15, 14–20. Yet we must not overlook—what has indeed been arbitrarily denied—that he everywhere regards this resurrection very definitely as a restoration of the body to life, and a return from the grave. Of what significance—if this is not to be firmly held—is his declaration [to the Corinthians] that the Lord was buried, that He rose again the third day, and appeared unto His disciples? Between the continuance of a purely spiritual existence which He has in common with all the dead, and "our justification" (Rom. 4, 25), no rational connection is conceivable. Besides, only a real, *i. e.*, bodily resurrection, could be a prophecy of the future

bodily resurrection of believers (Rom. 8, 11; 1 Cor. 15, 21–23; Phil. 3, 21).

10. Through the resurrection, the Lord, after a previous humiliation, passed into a state of glory in which, with no further suffering, he can evermore live unto God (Rom. 6, 10). Only twice does the Apostle mention the circumstance of the visible ascension of the Lord (1 Tim. 3, 16; Eph. 4, 7–10); in the latter of these (as it would seem), in contrast with his descent into the region of the dead, which we found also referred to by Peter (§ 27). So much the more emphatically does he dwell upon the work of the Redeemer in heaven, which, not less than His earthly life, is consecrated to the salvation of His people. Exalted to the right hand of the Father, He not only intercedes for them (Rom. 8, 34); but also hears and answers them, when they on their part call upon Him (1 Cor. 1, 2; 2 Cor. 12, 8. 9; comp. Acts 23, 11). He reigns not only through the moral power of the truth, but immediately and personally in the Church; and is, at the same time, head over all for the Church, to make all subject to His power (Eph. 1, 20–23), and to fill all things with His life-giving energy (Eph. 4, 10). He is excepted from this dominion, from whom it proceeded, to whom it will one day return (1 Cor. 15, 24–28), and in whose glorification it must of necessity end (Phil. 2, 9–11).

11. The exaltation of Christ is consequently for himself the reward of His perfect obedience, but for all His people the fountain of salvation. Reconciled to God through His death, they are saved by His life, yea, themselves live in consequence of the power which unceasingly flows forth and passes over from the head to the members (Rom. 5, 10; Eph. 1, 22. 23). Thus it is clear that the saving work of Christ on earth and in heaven is, according to the view of Paul, an inseparable whole (1 Tim. 3, 16), and that through the obedience, thus crowned, of the second Adam, the disobedience of the first is more than repaired (Rom. 5, 18–21). His righteousness becomes theirs; but only in so far as through faith they have become personally one with Him. As opposed to an impossible justification by works of law, there is brought in a perfect justification by grace, *through* faith alone, not at all *for the sake of* faith (Rom. 3, 28). The doctrine of the Apostle concerning the nature and fruits of this faith, we shall presently proceed to investigate.

Comp. Van Oosterzee "*Christology*," II. bl. 251–287; for particular points, Tischendorf, *Doctrina Pauli, Ap. de vi mortis Chr. satisfactoriâ*, Lips. 1837; Lipsius, "*The Pauline Doctrine of Justification*," Leipz. 1853; Rauwenhoff, *Dissertatio de loco Paulino qui est de Δικαιώσει*, Lugd. Bat. 1852; Bok, *Disquisitio exhib. Pauli. Ap. doct. de τῇ Ἀπολυτρώσει*, Amstel. 1856; Bonnard, *de la Resurrection de Christ dans la Theol. de St. Paul*, Strasb. 1862.

Questions for consideration.—Is development and progress to be observed in the Apostle's teaching concerning the work of redemption?—What is the sense of 1 Cor. 1, 30?—What is suggested by 1 Cor. 1, 13*b* (compare Col. 1, 24) as to the significance of the Lord's death upon the Cross?—Investigation of the most important soteriological utterances.—Wherein lies, according to Paul, the connection between the atoning and the sanctifying efficacy of the death of the Lord?—In what relation do the death and resurrection of Christ stand to the death and resurrection of his people?—In what sense is Christ called "the first fruits of them that are fallen asleep," 1 Cor. 15, 20?—What is the teaching of Eph. 4, 8–10?—What of Phil. 2, 9–11, as compared with 1 Cor. 15, 24–28?—The contrast drawn in Rom. 10, 4–10.

§ 40.

The Way of Salvation.

The faith which thus justifies the sinner before God, consists in a confiding surrender of one's self to Christ, and an enduring communion with Him. It is a faith whose seat is the heart, whose author is God, whose manifestation is the new life, and whose priceless fruit is restoration to God's favor and friendship, with all its blessed consequences, even on this side the grave.

1. That faith alone opens the way to salvation, is so emphatically declared (Acts 16, 31; Rom. 10, 10) by Paul, that no doubt as to his view is possible. An express definition of this faith,

however, (such, for example, as in Heb. 11, 1) he has nowhere given, and we must, therefore, gather his conception of faith from scattered intimations. If we do this, we discover at once that with Paul faith is opposed, not to knowledge, but on the one hand to sight (2 Cor. 5, 7), on the other to doubt (Rom. 4, 20). Faith is consequently, with Paul, a firm assurance or conviction concerning things which, being either invisible or yet future, fall without the sphere of natural perception, and, consequently, cannot be proved thereby.

2. This faith, inasmuch as it justifies the sinner, has for its object, in the widest sense, God (Rom. 4, 3–5. 24) and His promise—more definitely the Gospel (Phil. 1, 27; 2 Thes. 2, 13), and the saving truth therein revealed; but constantly, and above all, Him who is the great center of this Gospel (Acts 16, 31). Even where the Apostle speaks of the faith *of* Jesus Christ as the Christian's vocation (Gal. 2, 16. 20; Eph. 3, 12; Rom. 3, 26), he has before his mind no other faith than that which is directed to Him as its *object*, and which enters into the closest union with Him. Through this faith, further, is established a living communion with Christ, in which we, so to speak, die with Him and rise to newness of life (Rom. 6, 6; Gal. 2, 20). This faith surrenders itself unconditionally and confidingly to the Lord, and in turn receives from Him grace and strength (2 Cor. 12, 9). Without doubt there is in this faith also an intellectual element, which recognizes the death and resurrection of the Lord as indisputable facts (1 Thess. 4, 14); but these facts, and above all, Himself, it apprehends with the heart (Rom. 10, 10). The heart is the proper seat of saving faith, which, preceded by an acquaintance with the Gospel, itself leads to a clear and certain knowledge of the things which are freely given of God in Christ (1 Cor. 2, 13; Colos. 1, 9. 10; Phil. 1, 9; 2 Tim. 1, 12).

3. The question how this grace arises and grows in man, Paul answers by pointing out that it is God who brings sinners to Christ (Colos. 1, 12. 13). He calls it on this account a faith of God's operation (Colos. 2, 12. 13), and designates it a Divine gift of grace (Phil. 1, 29). Without doubt faith comes by hearing (Rom. 10, 14–17), but no planting and no watering can avail unless God give the increase (1 Cor. 3, 5–7). The strengthen-

ing of the faith is therefore bestowed as a heavenly gift (Eph. 3, 16; 2 Thess. 1, 2), and the honor of spiritual growth to be rendered exclusively to God (2 Thess. 1, 3). Where God has mediately wrought this faith, there is received, as the fruit of believing, the Holy Ghost (Eph. 1, 13; Gal. 3, 5), who dwells not only in the whole Church (1 Cor. 3, 16), but also in each of its members individually (1 Cor. 6, 19), and unites them most intimately with God in Christ. This Spirit is at the same time Himself a Spirit of faith (2 Cor. 4, 13): every special measure or every special gift of this faith which manifests itself in the Church is His work (1 Cor. 12, 9; Gal. 5, 22); and on that account His abiding communion (2 Cor. 13, 14) is for all Christians the blessing most to be desired.

4. The possession of this spirit becomes manifest by the fruits thereof (Gal. 5, 22), and the new life is the development of the faith thus born. Less than perhaps might have been expected, does the Apostle speak in an especial manner of repentance. Without doubt he proclaims it to Jew and Gentile (Acts 26, 20), and teaches that it is necessary even for Christians after falling anew into sin (2 Cor. 7, 10); while for unbelievers it is, according to his view, absolutely indispensable, in order to come to the knowledge of the truth (2 Tim. 2, 25). In general, however, he is speaking to believers, as being now in truth converted (1 Thess. 1, 9), and therefore combines in one the demand for repentance and faith (Acts 20, 21). No wonder that man, through faith, is brought into an entirely new condition of life (2 Cor. 5, 17), which gradually developes itself (2 Cor. 3, 18), and attains its goal only when all that is old has passed away, and the perfection set before the believer is attained (Eph. 4, 14. 15).

5. It belongs to the peculiarities of the Pauline doctrinal system that he describes the manifestation of the new life trichotomically, as a life in faith, hope, and love; and holds up this last as the greatest of the three (1 Cor. 13, 13; compare 1 Thess. 1, 3; 5, 8). Faith, originally the gift of God as well as the act of man, becomes now a life and state in which the new man continually moves (2 Cor. 4, 18; 5, 7), yea, a principle which, in its most universal form, gives its true value to every action (Rom. 14, 23). In its highest development it knows itself,

even here on earth, sure of the love of God in Christ for time and for eternity, and thus is naturally one with that hope which is the peculiar privilege of the Christian (Gal. 5, 5; Eph. 2, 12). As faith has reference to that which is invisible, so does hope especially have regard to those things which are yet future, things which it sees not, but patiently expects (Rom. 8, 24. 25). Its foundation is the promise, its crown the fulfillment, its goal perfect redemption at the approaching coming of the Lord (Rom. 8, 19–23). Since this hope is well-founded and sure (Rom. 5, 5; 2 Cor. 5, 5), the Christian may rejoice in the midst of the greatest tribulation (Rom. 12, 12). What an eminently important place hope occupies in the doctrine of Paul, is evident from such passages as, *e. g.*, Colos. 1, 27; Tit. 1, 2; 2 Tim. 2, 10. Yet, above hope and faith rises, in his estimation, *love*, the crown, the first of all the fruits of the Spirit (Gal. 5, 22), the natural consequence of faith (Gal. 5, 6), which, without it, is destitute of all value (1 Cor. 13, 2). Universal love, also, and love of one's enemies, is emphatically commended (Rom. 12, 17–21; 13, 8–10); but, above all, the mutual love of believers is the object of his highest praise (1 Cor. 13, 13), since it is to be valued more highly than all gifts, yea, is the brief summing up, in a word, of all perfection (Colos. 3, 14).

6. In the new life, which in this manner reveals itself in a threefold form, there is by no means wanting a higher unity. It bears throughout the character of a thank-offering (Rom. 12, 1), whose final aim is the glorifying of God (1 Cor. 10, 31; Colos. 3, 17), and whose daily effort is increasing progress towards perfection (Phil. 3, 12–14). It is, on the one hand, a life of liberty; on the other, of voluntary service (Rom. 8, 21; Gal. 5, 13)—a life which is no longer under the law, but precisely through which the ideal of the law is most beautifully realized (Rom. 3, 31; 8, 2–4), a life of constant conflict undoubtedly (Gal. 5, 17), but of a conflict with weapons to which at last the victory is assured (Eph. 6, 10–18)—a life, it is true, still in the flesh, but one which is more and more penetrated by the Spirit; not one of perfect holiness, but of the ever-continued work of sanctification; a school of exercise, and an arena, which Paul loves to represent under the image of the Grecian contests (1 Cor. 9, 24–27; 2 Tim. 4, 6–8). The imperfection of this

condition, however, detracts in no respects from its worth. In Christ believers are here already in principle perfect (Colos. 2, 10), and are in fact known and loved of God (1 Cor. 8, 3); yet this takes place not as though their sanctification, present or in prospect, were the ground, far less the meritorious cause, of their acceptance. The ground of their acceptance lies not within but outside of them, and grace remains the fountain of all. That God, however, notwithstanding their imperfection, and his inviolable holiness, can look upon them and treat them in Christ as righteous, is to be explained only by the fact that the justifying faith, which unites them to Christ, is, at the same time, the living principle of renewal and sanctification, which sooner or later must come to full development. Paul teaches justification just as little on the ground of, as apart from, personal sanctification.

7. Even in the present life this living faith becomes the source of a blessedness which is represented by Paul under manifold forms. The justified sinner has peace with God, rejoices in tribulation, and cherishes an unfailing hope for eternity; so that he is rendered perfectly secure in regard to the past, the present, and the future (Rom. 5, 1–5). Justification (δικαίωσις) in the sense of Paul involves not merely, negatively, the notion of the cancelling of guilt, and of acquittal from punishment; but also, positively, the notion of perfect restoration to God's favor and friendship is intimately bound up with this idea (Rom. 4, 3–5). [The justification of sinners embraces, consequently, the twofold idea of pardon and acceptance, Eph. 1, 5–7; Acts 26, 18.] On this account the idea of justification is closely connected with another, that of adoption as God's children (υἱοθεσία), which is here constantly represented as the peculiar privilege of believers. As the conception of a judicial act (in declaring the sinner righteous) underlies the idea of justification, so also it constitutes the basis in the adoption of him who was originally a servant, to the rank and rights of a child, by which an end is for ever put to all slavish service and fear. Yet here, also, the juridical idea has at the same time its ethical side. As the justified man necessarily lives in righteousness, so the adopted children are at the same time followers of God, who, above all things, in love manifest the Father's image in

themselves, resemble Him in spirit (Eph. 5, 1. 2) and thereby become inwardly fitted to become his heirs (Rom 8, 17). This Divine adoption, however, is a blessing which is perfectly realized only in the future, when redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις) shall be enjoyed in its whole fulness.

Comp. ENGELS, *Geloofstroem*, 1835; VERWEY, "*What God works in us through Jesus Christ, according to Paul*," W. in L. 1839; BERLAGE, *Disq. de form. Paul. Πίστις Ἰ. Χρ. significatione*, Lugd. Bat. 1856; WERNINK, "*Exeg. Stud. on Πίστις and Πιστεύειν in the New Testament*," Rott. 1858; COOPS, "*Explanation of the words, Justify and Justification*," Rott. 1861.

Questions for consideration.—What is the sense of 2 Cor. 5, 7? —Explanation of the different formulas *Πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χρ.*, *ἐν Ἰησῷ Χρ.*, *εἰς Χρ.*, &c.—The nature of faith as it is seen in the life of Paul himself, Gal. 2, 19–21.—Is the Holy Spirit, according to Paul, the author, or the fruit of faith?—Life after the spirit, in contradistinction from life after the flesh.—The Christian armor, Eph. 6, 10–18.—What peculiarity has the doctrine of Paul in regard to *υἱοθεσία*?—The full compass of the idea of the *ἀπολύτρωσις*.

§ 41.

The Church.

All, who thus believe, form together a spiritual body, the members of which are by baptism most closely united to the Lord and to each other; and, through the Lord's Supper, continually strengthen their fellowship with Him and with each other. With all its diversity, this communion of believers is one; notwithstanding all imperfection, holy; in spite of all temporary barriers, destined to receive all nations into its bosom; and amidst all conflict, assured at last of the victory in Him whose glorious revelation it expects with ardent longing.

1. Until now we have, under the guidance of the Apostle, contemplated the individual man in fellowship with Christ. In order, however, to estimate at its true value salvation in Him,

we must direct our attention to the union of all those who enjoy the same; in other words, must become more intimately acquainted with the Pauline Ecclesiology. It is especially the Epistles to the Corinthians and that to the Ephesians which here render us important service. But others, also, especially the pastoral Epistles, contain important hints.

2. The church or congregation of the Lord (the two are identical in the language of Paul) is by no means the same as the kingdom of God and of Christ. This latter is a perfectly spiritual society, whose ideal will be fully realized only in the future (1 Cor. 6, 10; 15, 50; Eph. 5, 5); the former is the union of those who here on earth are already, through faith and love, members of that kingdom. When Paul speaks of the church (ἐκκλησία), he means either the Christian assembly which is gathered at a particular place (1 Cor. 14, 19. 35; comp. also the ἐκκλησία κατ' οἶκόν), or the union of confessors of the Lord in a town or province, (1 Thess. 1, 1), or the totality of *all* believers (Eph. 1, 22). With his presentation of this last we have especially to do.

3. The high position assigned to the church by Paul, is evident from the names by which he designates it, and from the figures under which he describes it. It is for him the church of God (Acts 20, 28), of Christ (Eph. 5, 25–27), the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. 3, 16). In the first case it is compared by preference to a cultivated field (1 Cor. 3, 9), in the second to a body (Eph. 1, 23), in the third to a temple; although the different images here and there run into each other (Eph. 2, 20; 4, 16). This last especially is his favorite comparison (1 Cor. 3, 9–17). God is the master builder, Christ the foundation; doctrines of very different degrees of value are the different materials of which it is built up, and the household of God are believers, as those who have been received into God's family (Eph. 2, 19–22). If on one occasion the Apostles and prophets of the New Testament are also called the foundation of the building, (Eph. 2, 20), this is only because they proclaim Christ, who is the living center. In Him the building of God stands immovably firm, even though within its walls are included objects of the most diverse value (2 Tim. 2, 19. 20). With no less fitness is set forth the diversity—along with the

higher unity—in the church, under the figure of a body. The former is undeniable, but necessary; the latter is founded in the relation of all to the same Christ. As He may be called, in relation to all mankind, the second Adam; so for the whole Church is He the living, governing, and protecting Head.

4. Into this church the entrance is through baptism,* the initiatory rite of the New Testament, as circumcision was of the Old, (Colos. 2, 11. 12). As Israel, in passing through the Red Sea, was brought into the closest relationship to Moses, so are believers by baptism brought into the closest relationship to Christ, especially as the dead and risen one. They are called to confess his name, and to be together one spiritual body. Nowhere, indeed, does the Apostle ascribe to baptism in itself a magical power [*i. e.*, without any just proportion between cause and effect], but to such an extent a mystical power, that it is truly a bath of regeneration and renewing (Tit. 3, 5),† where—as was the case, as a rule, with those baptized in the Apostolic age—it is believingly desired and received. Baptism is just as little a mere symbol, as it is an immediate source of blessing; it is, however, the mediate cause of spiritual purification, only because it is received in connection with faith.‡ Infant baptism§ is, in Paul's Epistles, just as little forbidden as enjoined; he, however, lays evident stress upon the fact that there is but *one* baptism, as there is but *one* saving faith (Eph. 4, 5).

5. As upon baptism, so also upon the Lord's Supper, more light is shed by Paul, especially in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, 11 and 12, than by any other Apostle. His account of

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* [Debemus in baptismo agnoscere spirituale lavacrum; debemus illic testimonium remissionis peccatorum et renovationis nostræ pignus amplecti; sic tamen relinquere et Christo et Spiritui sancto suum honorem, ut nulla pars salutis ad signum transferatur.—Calvin, in 1 Pet. 3, 21.—M. J. E.]

† [The washing of baptism introduces typically to the new *state* of the believer (compare Matt. 19, 28), while the "renewing of the Holy Ghost" is the efficient cause of the new *life*.—M. J. E.]

‡ [Spiritus Dei est qui nos regenerat, facitque novas creaturas; sed quia invisibilis et occulta est ejus gratia, visibile in baptismo ejus symbolum conspicitur.—Calvin, in Tit. 3, 5.—M. J. E.]

§ [Compare, however, the words of Calvin:—Quodsi communi generis humani sorte eximuntur fidelium liberi ut Domino segregentur, cur eos a signo arceamus? si Dominus in Ecclesiam suam eos verbo admittit, cur signum illis negabimus?—Calvin, in 1 Cor. 7, 14.—M. J. E.]

the institution of the Supper (1 Cor. 11, 23–26), is the oldest which has come down to us, and is the more important since he received the knowledge thereof directly—though mediately—from the Lord (ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου). The Lord's Supper is to him evidently a breaking of bread for the commemoration of the Lord's atoning death, a commemoration ordained by Himself, and to be observed, after earnest self-examination, and in a worthy manner, by His church unto the end of the ages (1 Cor. 11, 26–29). But no less is it to him, through the symbols of the Lord's body and blood, a feast of the most intimate communion with the Lord and all His people, (1 Cor. 10, 16, 17). It is worthy of notice that Baptism and the Supper are at least once mentioned by him in one breath, and placed upon a level (1 Cor. 12, 13; comp. 10, 2–4); though naturally the combining of the two under a single sacramental idea is of later origin.

6. The church, which is thus purified [symbolically] by Baptism, and by the Supper more closely united to its head, remains *one* (Eph. 4, 1–6), notwithstanding all diversity of gifts, powers, and operations, which manifest themselves in the midst of it (1 Cor. 12, 4–6). While Paul, in regard to the universal priesthood of believers (1 Pet. 2, 9) throws out only hints, (as, for instance, in Rom. 12, 1), he is much more explicit than Peter, where he is called to give directions as to the inner organism of church life (Rom. 12, 4–6; Eph. 4, 11; the Pastoral Epistles). The Divine origin of the different officers (1 Cor. 12, 28; Eph. 4, 11; Acts 20, 28) is to him as fully established as the calling of each member of the church to employ the gifts received for its edification (1 Cor. 14, 26). To this latter end must all be made subservient; even the relative value of the different *Charismata* is very distinctly made to depend thereupon (1 Cor. 14, 39). A sharp line of distinction between the ordinary and extraordinary gifts of the Spirit is nowhere drawn by the Apostle; but he calls upon all to strive, in the way of love, after the possession of the highest and best (1 Cor. 13). The factious man in the church, on the other hand, falls under the Apostle's severe rebuke (Tit. 3, 10. 11), less even on account of his heterodoxy than on account of his egoistic party machinations.

7. While the church is thus one, it is, at the same time, called to holiness, and it corresponds really to the ideal, so far as

it deserves the name of a living church. On this account the highest distinctive titles of ancient Israel are bestowed upon it as a whole,—holy, elect, beloved, etc. There is nowhere made in the doctrinal teaching of Paul, a prevailing distinction between the outward and the true church, although he by no means overlooks the distinction between nominal Christianity and living faith (Rom. 9, 5; 1 Cor. 4, 20; 2 Tim. 2, 19. 20). As a rule, he seeks and finds the power of darkness, not within the church, but outside of it (Colos. 1, 13); and precisely on this account rebukes, with the greatest severity, by word and deed, every manifestation of impurity within it (1 Cor. 5, 1, sqq.), while he regards it as beneath the dignity of believers to bring their mutual differences before the forum of an unholy world (1 Cor. 6, 1–3). All impurity belongs, as a rule, to that past with which they have no more to do (1 Cor. 6, 10–11); in principle the church is already perfect, by virtue of its inner oneness with Christ (Colos. 2, 10), and in reality is destined evermore to become so (Eph. 5, 25–27).

8. United and holy, the church is, also, as regarded and viewed by Paul, in the highest sense catholic. The middle wall of partition is fallen away; out of the spiritual blending of the different nations, races, and ranks, arises now the true people of Christ (Eph. 2, 14–16; Colos. 3, 11; Tit. 2, 14). Paul will not, however, in a revolutionary spirit, assail the institutions of social life, much less with one blow overthrow the whole order of the social community (1 Cor. 7, 20). His own treatment of Onesimus, no less than his directions for servants, wives, and children, proves the very contrary (Eph. 5, and 6; Colos. 3; 1 Tim. 6). From woman her subordinate place is not taken away (1 Cor. 11, 7), but, on the contrary, the duty of subjection is enforced by a humbling reference to the history of the fall (1 Tim. 2, 14); yet, nevertheless, her spiritual emancipation also is proclaimed in the Gospel of Paul (Gal. 3, 28), for the ground-tone of this is liberty—a Gospel liberty (Gal. 4, 9) which binds itself by no narrow forms, and bows only before the highest law of love (1 Cor. 8–10; Rom. 14). On this account it is adapted to the case of all, as it is also destined to be brought to all (Rom. 10, 14–17,) and was also, even in the beginning, brought to them without restriction of person (Col. 1, 23).

9. The final triumph of such a kingdom of God cannot reasonably be doubted. The Church itself serves as a pillar and ground of Christian truth, because it confesses and preserves it (1 Tim. 3, 15). In the midst of all conflict, there is, therefore, assured to it a continual growth, a glorious completion of the edifice, but upon the foundation which was laid once for all (Eph. 2, 22; 4, 15. 16). Absolute completeness of the kingdom of God before the coming of Christ, Paul does not indeed seem to promise; yea, there is no ground for maintaining that he looked for the realization of the ideal in 1 Cor. 13, 9–12 in the world. But yet he sees the fullness (the pre-determined totality of the nations) of the Gentile world soon about to enter into the kingdom of God, and in consequence thereof all Israel, as a nation, converted and saved (Rom. 11, 25. 26). Especially from this last event does the Apostle expect, in the spiritual sense of the word, a new life from the dead (Rom. 11, 15). "The conversion of the whole human race in the world will accompany the conversion of Israel" (BENGEL.)

10. The prospect of so great events can, from the nature of the case, awaken only lofty expectations. Hope occupies in the Pauline theology, a place not much inferior to that which it occupies in the Petrine. The cherishing of the desire for the appearing of Christ, is a prevailing characteristic of the Christian life (2 Tim. 4, 8). Consciously or unconsciously, all is looking for redemption (Rom. 8, 19–23; 2 Cor. 5, 2–4), and this redemption will not always, yea, will not even much longer, have to be waited for (Rom. 13, 11).

Comp. PAREAU, "*The Doctrine of Paul concerning the Nature of Christ's Church*," W. in L. 1842; DOEDES, "*The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper*," Utr., 1847, bl. 47 ff; HALLEY, *On the Sacraments*, London, 1844, 51. LECHLER, *l. c.*, S. 120 ff; also the articles on Baptism and the Lord's Supper in HERZOG.

Questions for consideration.—The ἐκκλησίαι κατ' οἶκόν in the Pauline Epistles.—Whence the fuller development of the idea of the Church in the Pauline than in the Petrine theology?—Sense, truth, and beauty of the illustration in 1 Cor. 3, 9–17, comp. Eph. 2, 19–22; 2 Tim. 2, 19.—The unity of the Church, 1 Cor. 12, 26.—The teaching of Eph. 4, 5, as compared with 1

Cor. 12, 13.—Peculiar character and diverse value of the various charismata.—Union of liberty and order in the Pauline ideal of the Church.—Pauline teaching with regard to Baptism and the Supper, compared with that of the Synoptical Gospels. —The earnest of the future completion of the kingdom of God.

§ 42.

The Future.

The plan of salvation is to be fully realized at the return of the Lord, an event which Paul, with the whole Apostolic Church, looked for as near at hand, and which—though by no means without previous warning—will at last occur unexpectedly. The resurrection of the dead, the final judgment, and the annihilation of every power which sets itself against Christ, are associated with this great event; in consequence of which the perfected kingdom of Christ finally passes over into the everlasting kingdom of God.

1. Like Peter (§ 27) and all his fellow Apostles, Paul cherishes the living hope of the speedy advent of the Lord. Nowhere does he reckon himself among those who shall be raised at the last day; repeatedly, on the contrary, he expresses himself as cherishing the expectation of being himself among the number of those who shall remain alive at the coming of the Lord (1 Thess. 4, 15; 1 Cor. 15, 51. 52). In his later epistles, also, the idea is expressed, more obscurely however, that something of the kind is possible (2 Cor. 5, 4; Phil. 3, 11); although the more his earthly activity hastens to its close, the more does he become familiar with the thought of dying before that hour (Phil. 1, 21–23; 2 Tim. 4, 6–8).

2. However near the Lord's return may be, its precise period can not be exactly determined. Unexpectedly (1 Thess. 5, 2), but not without warning, it comes: the Man of Sin precedes the coming of the Son of Man. Remarkably enough, the most full teaching concerning the Antichrist is found in one of the oldest of all the epistles of our Apostle (2 Thess. 2, 1–12);

another proof how deeply this idea was rooted not only in the teaching of the Lord (Matt. 24, 23–24); but also in the theology of the Old Testament, and the whole cycle of thought of the Apostolic age which was therewith so closely connected. The obscurity of the Apostle's teaching upon this point arises especially from the fact that he is manifestly alluding to circumstances and phenomena in social and civil life, which were much better known to his contemporaries than to later readers. But ever do we find expressed in this mysterious form the thought no less profound than rational, that the highest concentration of the kingdom of darkness, and that an individual one, will precede the manifestation of the kingdom of light, and that the last mighty effort of the former immediately borders on its deepest humiliation.

3. This humiliation takes place at the last coming, which the Apostle evidently conceives of as a visible Christophany, which to some extent resembles the glorious Theophany at the giving of the law on Horeb. Christ comes, in a glorified form (Phil. 3, 20. 21) from heaven, whither He has ascended (1 Thess. 1, 10; 4, 16; 2 Thess. 1, 7). That He comes, in order henceforth to dwell and reign upon earth, Paul does not say. He expects rather that the believers who remain alive until the advent will be caught up into the air to meet the coming King of the kingdom of God, in order thus to be ever with Him. Whether on earth or in heaven remains undecided; perhaps we should best express the mind of the Apostle if we should venture on the supposition that, with the eye directed to this future, the boundary-line between the two will be found to vanish. But from 1 Cor. 6, 2. 3, it seems to follow that he conceived of believers as taking an active part in the final judgment, the execution of which is now to be accomplished.

4. At this coming, proclaimed with majesty (1 Thess. 4, 16; comp. 1 Cor. 15, 52), all who have fallen asleep in Christ shall be at once raised, and those yet living so changed that, without dying, all that is mortal in them shall be, so to speak, swallowed up of life (2 Cor. 5, 4). This is the first resurrection (1 Cor. 15, 23; 1 Thess. 4, 16), of which mention is made by Jesus, as also by the Apostle John (Luke 14, 14; Rev. 20, 5). It takes place at the end of the age, and is therefore preceded by a

separate state immediately after death. Since the Apostle so soon expects the Lord's coming, it is easy to see why he does not more fully describe this condition; he looks beyond it to the end. Only thus much can be said with certainty, that he conceives of this state by no means as a state of lifeless unconsciousness, but as a state of liberation, of repose, and of desirable happiness (Phil. 1, 21–23), and cherishes the assurance that neither death nor life can separate him from God in Christ (1 Thes. 5, 10; Rom. 8, 38. 39; 14, 7–9).

With this separated spirit the risen body is united at the coming of Christ. By the resurrection of the dead, the Apostle no more understands, merely the immortality of the spirit, than he does a material restoration of the flesh: to the opposite of this latter view he even gives emphatic expression (1 Cor. 6, 13; 15, 50). He conceives of the restoration of the whole man, in consequence of which the liberated spirit receives a heavenly body (2 Cor. 5, 1), which, essentially identical with the earthly, is yet furnished with quite different properties (1 Cor. 15, 42–44). The possibility of this resurrection, founded on God's omnipotence, Paul finds symbolized in the kingdom of nature (1 Cor. 15, 36–41). Its certainty is established in his view, objectively by the resurrection of Christ (1 Thess. 4, 14; 1 Cor. 6, 14), and subjectively by the testimony of the Holy Ghost (Rom. 8, 10; 2 Cor. 5, 5). Its glory appears when we contemplate the infinite difference between the present earthly and the future heavenly condition (1 Cor. 15, 45–49; comp. Phil. 3, 21).

5. The end of the present dispensation is, at the same time, the manifestation and culmination of the dominion of Christ on earth (1 Cor. 15, 24. 25). All foes are annihilated, Antichrist included (2 Thes. 2, 8); last of all death (1 Cor. 15, 26), which hitherto had still preserved considerable power. Here we must, as it would seem, place the general resurrection both of the just and the unjust, which Paul also on one occasion (Acts 24, 15) refers to. But certainly the great final judgment now takes place, which Paul everywhere and always inseparably connects with the coming of the Lord.

6. The final judgment takes place on a prophetic day of righteous retribution upon the obstinate rejectors of the Lord (2 Thess. 1, 7–10; Rom. 2, 5). The last judgment, absolutely

universal (2 Cor. 5, 10), takes cognizance of good and evil deeds, and is pronounced according to the most equitable standard (Rom. 2, 6–10). God judges the world by Christ (Acts 17, 31; 2 Tim. 4, 1), at whose coming every secret thing shall be brought to light (1 Cor. 4, 5). Nowhere does Paul teach a final pronouncing of our destiny immediately after death: the day of the Lord's coming is the day of full retribution (Rom. 2, 16), and not before this day will the future glory of believers be manifest in its full splendor (Rom. 8, 23; Colos. 3, 3. 4).

7. Highly blessed is the lot which on that day awaits the redeemed of Christ. It is, on the one hand, a perfect deliverance from all that oppresses, especially from the body of death (Rom. 8, 2. 23); on the other hand, a knowing (1 Cor. 13, 12), beholding (2 Cor. 5, 7), enjoying (1 Thes. 4, 17) Christ and a triumphant reigning with Him (2 Tim. 2, 12)—of which we can here form but a very imperfect conception (Rom. 8, 18; 2 Cor. 4, 17). No other Apostle describes the blessedness of the future so often as a personal participation in the triumph and dominion of Christ (2 Cor. 4, 10; Rom. 5, 17)—a phenomenon which admits of a perfect explanation psychologically, but at the same time an expectation which is based (Matt. 19, 28) on nothing less than the word of the Lord himself. Without doubt, according to the conception of Paul, this future blessedness and glory has its variously modified degrees (1 Cor. 15, 40–44; 2 Cor. 9, 6); but all the children of God will be, in their measure, His heirs, and joint-heirs with Christ (Rom. 8, 16, 17).

8. On the future misery of the unconverted sinner he speaks less in detail, but expresses himself with equal definiteness. It concentrates itself in his view, in banishment from the presence (face) of the Lord and in the experience of His terrible displeasure (2 Thess. 1, 8–9; Rom. 2, 9–12), without any prospect of diminution or removal of the punishment. The doctrine of the ultimate salvation of all finds only a seeming countenance in Paul. Guided by the sound of the words, merely, we might perhaps find apparent support for this doctrine in certain isolated expressions of the Apostle; but even in such cases, every one who decides impartially will admit, that obscure

or vague hints must be interpreted by the light of distinct assertions, and not the converse. The second Adam gives life, indeed, to all, but under a moral condition which is not complied with by all (1 Cor. 15, 22); the universal homage rendered finally to Christ (Phil. 2, 10) may be in part a forced homage; and if God is one day to be all in all (1 Cor. 15, 28) the connection of the words forbid us to refer this to any but those who have already become subjects of the kingdom of God. Mercy, shown toward the Gentile and Jewish (Rom. 11, 32) world in their totality, can be exercised even when single individuals perish; and the reconciliation of heaven and earth (Eph. 1, 10; Colos. 1, 20) is accomplished, even though obstinate opposers (2 Thess. 2) are not converted and saved. Enough, that, according to the conception of the Apostle, no single hostile power will be able permanently to make a stand against the kingdom of God in its triumph, and that thus every discordant note will be wholly swallowed up in the song of redemption. "The problem here set before us is, so to conceive of the ἀπώλεια, that God's being all in all may yet be in the wider sense possible, and so to explain this latter, that the idea of ἀπώλεια shall remain unchanged" (KLING).

9. When the kingdom of Christ is completed, the kingly office of the Son has accomplished its special purpose (1 Cor. 15, 27); and although all things continue to retain their separate existence, they end *for* and *in* God, in the undivided fullness of His being (1 Cor. 15, 28; comp. Rom. 11, 36). Upon Paul's conception of the nature of God, full light arises only when we stand at the end of his doctrinal development; and from all we have learnt at his mouth concerning the diverse activity and reciprocal relationship of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, it is clear that this conception of God bears no traces of dry deistical, far less of a superficial Unitarian character. The Trinity of the Divine Being already hinted at by the Apostle Peter (1 Pet. 1, 2), comes with him ever anew into the foreground (1 Cor. 12, 4–6; 2 Cor. 13, 14), and however little he is given to abstract speculations, it is manifest that he not only ascribes to the Son of God a truly Divine nature and dignity (§ 38. 4, 5), but also ascribes (1 Cor. 2, 10; 12, 11) to the Holy Spirit a self-consciouness and freedom of action which

necessarily leads to the idea of a personal existence. Both to the Son of God and to the Holy Spirit, as distinguished from the Father, he ascribes an activity which is conceivable only when the divinity of their nature is recognized and acknowledged. Yet it is especially the glory of God the Father, which is the final goal of all that He accomplishes, through the Son and Holy Spirit, for the salvation of the sinner (1 Cor. 8, 6; Rom. 11, 33–36). "*In majorem Dei gloriam*" is the highest watchword of the Pauline theology, more than of any other.

Comp. our "*Christology*," II, 289 sqq. with the literature there cited; BRIET, "*Eschatology*," II, 198, sqq. *On the Antichrist*, 2 Thess. 2, CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, "*Bible Studies*," I, 65; RINCK, "*The Doctrine of the Antichrist*," Elberf. 1867; HOELEMANN "*The position of St. Paul on the Question of the Time of Christ's Return*," in his *Neue Bibelstud.*, Leipzig, 1866.

Questions for consideration.—Nature, basis, and value of Paul's teaching concerning the time of the second coming.—What is to be understood by the ἀνθῳ τ. ἁμ., 2 Thess. 2, 3, and what by τὸ κατέχον, 21, 8?—Have the ideas of the Apostle concerning resurrection, judgment, &c., been always the same, or is a modification and development to be observed in them?—Explanation of 2 Cor. 5, 1–4, as compared with 1 Cor. 15, 51–54.—What difference is there, according to the teaching of Paul, in the condition of departed believers before and after the second coming of the Lord?—Does Paul distinguish between a first and second resurrection?—Doctrine of the *Apokatastasis* in the Pauline theology.—Connection of the whole Pauline theology with his conception of the nature of God.

§ 43.

The Kindred Types of Doctrine.

However full and original the Pauline conception of Christianity may be, it stands by no means alone. Its prelude is found in the address of Stephen, its fundamental tone in the writings of Luke, its echo in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and in such a manner that this last, on the one hand, faithfully reflects

the spirit of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and is on the other hand, an independent link in the chain of the earliest development of Christian doctrine.

1. In the days of the Old Testament, the founder of Mosaism (§ 4) stood, in a certain sense, alone upon his intellectual and religious height. Paul, however—the Moses of the New Testament—has friends and spiritual kinsmen, who, each in his own manner, proclaim the great principles of Paulinism, although without attaining to the height of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. One only do we find among them all who speaks with such force and dignity that many have often thought they discerned in his voice that of Paul himself. Nevertheless, the others must not be passed by without explanation.

2. Like other great men, Paul also had his forerunner. We find him in Stephen, with whom we become acquainted, Acts 6 and 7. The leading thought of Paulinism even if not fully expressed, and much less developed, was yet distinctly indicated by him. This is equally evident from the accusation brought against him (Acts 6, 14), and from single points in his defence, in which we find a sharp antagonism against the same obstinate Judaism, against which Paul afterwards so powerfully pleaded. In Stephen we see a first effort, as yet feeble, for the emancipation of the youthful Church from the fetters which afterwards cramped her; he had an anticipation of that which Paul clearly perceived. In him, also, is apparent that higher intellectual aspiration by which Paul is so greatly distinguished from Peter and those of kindred spirit. His hour of death, finally, made an impression upon the raging Saul, which the latter, even as Paul, never forgot (Acts 22, 20).

3. The Third Gospel and the Book of Acts, which we ascribe, without any hesitation, to Luke, exhibit also a Pauline character. Let any one, for instance, observe the comprehensive spirit which they breathe (see, for example, Luke 3, 38; Acts 8, 35–37; comp. 1, 8) the contents and form of many words and deeds of the Lord, which Luke records with manifest preference, and which, in a certain respect, anticipate the Gospel of Paul (Luke 7, 50; Chap. 15; 17, 7–10; 18, 14; comp. Acts 13, 38–39); the similarity of their accounts of the institution of

the Lord's Supper, of the appearance of the Lord which was granted to Peter, and other characteristics which furnish indubitable proof that both these writings proceed from the immediate circle in which the Apostle moved.

4. The most manifold traces of Paulinism are, however, to be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews; which has been not inaptly termed "a jewel of the Christian canon," and which, even in itself, but especially in its relation to the fundamental ideas of Paul, is worthy of the most careful attention. It is of course not in place here to enter upon the great number of questions of introduction which this epistle, or rather treatise, has called forth. In our judgment, it was written between the years 60 and 70, for Jewish Christians dwelling in Palestine —not in the Diaspora—with the distinct purpose of pointing out to them how much more excellent is the new covenant than the old, and thereby arming them against the danger of falling back into Judaism. The main thought—the theme—is given in Heb. 8, 8–13; (comp. Jer. 31, 31–34), and the way in which this is developed is so surprising, that it will well reward us to survey somewhat in detail, the doctrinal peculiarities of this writer. To the old covenant he gives a high place, but the new dispensation he places much higher, and dwells most emphatically upon the vocation of those for whom the former has been abrogated, and the latter established in its place.

5. How highly the Old Testament is prized by this author, is at once evident, from the point of view in which he regards it from the beginning. It is the fruit of special revelations of God (Heb. 1, 1), which He has granted "at sundry times and in divers manners." The writer's conception of God, also, agrees in its main features with that of the Old Testament. Without doubt, he views Him as the God of peace (Heb. 13, 20), who reveals His grace in a wondrous manner in the death of His Son (Heb. 2, 9); yet this side of the Divine nature does not here come distinctly into the foreground. With the doubtful exception of 12, 7, the name of Father is only once given to God (Heb. 12, 9), and then in a sense which reminds us of a particular Old Testament declaration (Num. 16, 22). He appears here rather as judge of all, whose judgment upon apostate sinners is terrible (Heb. 12, 23–29, comp. Heb. 10, 26–31),

but whose reward of the well doing required by Him is equally certain (Heb. 7, 9. 10; 11, 6. 26). His grace is not passed over in silence (Heb. 4, 16; 12, 15); but the terrors of the Lord, much more than His grace, form the lever and incentive to action. On the other hand, manifest emphasis is laid upon the omnipotence and faithfulness of God, the Creator of all things out of nothing (Heb. 11, 3), who also doeth wonders (Heb. 2, 4), and can swear by no one higher (Heb. 6, 13) than himself; the living God (Heb. 9, 14; 12, 22), as opposed to lifeless idols; in a word the Lord (Heb. 8, 2)—just as Christ was before (7, 14) extolled as *our* Lord—on whom all things are absolutely dependent (Heb. 6, 3). His glory is that of a Divine hypostasis (self-existent being), reflecting itself in the Son (Heb. 1, 3), and communicating itself by the Holy Ghost, who is here, however, regarded rather as a gift than as a giver (Heb. 2, 4; 6, 4; 10, 29). The Trinitarian distinction in the nature of the Godhead is not here so unequivocally brought out as in the theology of Paul or even of Peter. At least, the indication of the [distinct] personality of the Holy Spirit, which has been supposed to be present in 3, 7; 9, 8; 10, 15, is more or less doubtful (comp. the use of προϊδών, Gal. 3, 8).

6. Since such a God has already revealed himself in the Old Testament, it is no wonder that our author prizes very highly the record of this revelation, especially in its prophetic character. He so often introduces Old Testament citations, that his writing in this respect occupies the same place among the Epistles which the Gospel of Matthew does among the Gospels. Here and there, no less than Peter, he expresses his own ideas in Old Testament words, without directly citing them as such (Heb. 12, 12; 13, 6). It is, indeed, the Holy Ghost himself who is introduced as speaking in Holy Writ: the expressions *Scripture* and *Word of God* here cover precisely the same ideas (Heb. 3, 7; 10, 15). And it is not only the Hebrew original but also the Alexandrine translation which in view of the writer is invested with high authority. More closely than any other Apostolic writer he follows the version of the Seventy; so far, indeed, as to adopt from them even an erroneous rendering—the translation of *oznayim* by σῶμα (10, 5). With a slight exception (10, 30) he confines himself to this version even in the form of his

argumentation (Heb. 9, 16. 17); at the same time he regards rather the spirit than the letter of the words, which he often cites from memory. The whole of the Old Testament is to him one constant reference to the Messiah, whom, by virtue of his peculiar system of hermeneutics, he finds, where more modern exegesis would possibly not even seek Him. From his typico-symbolic stand-point he understands without difficulty of the Messiah even that which primarily was certainly not spoken definitely of Him (see, for instance, Heb. 2, 13b; comp. Isaiah 8, 17).

7. To the narratives, likewise, of the Old Testament he attaches an especial value, because he sees in them not only the record of memorable facts, but also suggestive types of higher things. Thus, Joshua (Heb. 3), as also Melchisedec (Heb. 7), is to him a type, *i. e.* a prophetic symbol of the person and work of the Redeemer. On the one hand, he warns against unbelief and disobedience by pointing to the example of the people of Israel (Heb. 4, 1. 2) and of Esau (Heb. 12, 16. 17); on the other hand, he exhorts to perseverance in the Christian race, by pointing to the ancient saints as preëminently patterns for believers (Heb. 11). He lays great stress upon the spiritual unity of believers of the old covenant and those of the new (Heb. 11, 39. 40); and since precisely this element of faith is to him the highest manifestation of the religious life, he accords also to Rahab, Samson, and others, a place of honor which, measured simply by a moral standard, they would possibly not have deserved. In his high estimate of believers under the old covenant, and in the use he makes of sacred history, he agrees in a remarkable manner with Paul and Peter (Rom. 4; 1 Cor. 10; 1 Peter 3). Like the latter, also, he mentions with commendation the example of Sarah (Heb. 11, 11).

8. In the religious history of Israel, it is especially the sacred rites, more particularly the sacrifices, on which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews dwells with manifest preference. The Divine origin of the sacrificial ritual is here constantly assumed (Heb. 11, 4; comp. Heb. 5, 4); and even prayer and alms are regarded from the point of view of sacrifice (5, 7; 13, 16). Not all kinds of sacrifice, however, are here dealt with; the

author directs his attention especially to propitiatory sacrifices and sacrifices for sin—between which he makes no further distinction—as well as to those by which the old covenant was once inaugurated (Heb. 10, 19–21). He attaches great significance to the sacrifice on the great day of Atonement (Heb. 10, 1; 13, 11); as, moreover to whatever concerns the different acts of the sacred ritual, as the shedding of the blood and the bearing of it for sprinkling into the innermost sanctuary (9, 22–24). The sanctuary itself, is for him a feeble image of the higher heavenly reality (8, 5), and the high priest who enters therein, performs a symbolical action which stands in immediate connection with the pacification of the conscience burdened on account of guilt.

9. Nevertheless, however great the value of all this—which is evidently described by the writer of the epistle *con amore*, and, as it were, from his own observation—it was, and remained, far from sufficient. It is true the law was proclaimed through the ministration of angels (Heb. 2, 2; comp. Gal. 3, 19; Acts 7, 53), but it contains only the shadow, not the substance, of things from its stand-point yet future (Heb. 10, 1). Sacrifice, also, can never sanctify (τελειῶσαι) him who presents it: that is to say, through this the moral goal, for which it is required and offered, is never attained. It is, moreover, offered by priests who, themselves subject to sin and death, continually succeed each other (Heb. 7, 23. 27). It was, besides, only of temporary effect, and must, for this reason, ever be renewed (Heb. 9, 25; 10, 1–4. Above all, it procured forgiveness only for sins committed through ignorance, and could produce only Levitical, no higher (moral) purity (Heb. 9, 13. 14). It was able, therefore, to preserve the transgressor in communion with the theocratic nation, but could not possibly restore the broken communion between God and the sinner (Heb. 10, 4). Thus, it had its highest significance, not as an adequate means of atonement, but as a prophetic symbol: the whole order of Old Testament worship is designed to point to that better thing which is yet future (Heb. 9, 8). No wonder that the old covenant was from the beginning destined to be only of transitory duration (Heb. 8, 13; 10, 9). It was, indeed, relatively firm (Heb. 2, 2), but not immovable (Heb. 12, 27). On the con-

trary, even the prophets had proclaimed a new covenant, an immovable kingdom (Heb. 8, 8–13: 12, 26, sqq.), and naturally, he who remained at the stand-point of the law, or returned to it, came thereby into conflict with the word and spirit of this old covenant itself. This latter has fulfilled its destiny and attained its ideal in the new; and Christians are consequently the true Israel. The relation in which this true Israel stands to the Church of Gentile Christians is passed over in silence in this epistle. The object of the writer is only to convince Jewish Christians that return to a worship which they had forsaken would be simply an exchange of the greater for the immeasurably less.

10. The dignity of the new above the old dispensation is also manifest from the exalted nature of the person who founded the new covenant. It belongs to the peculiarities of our epistle that this writer, still more than Paul (Rom. 5, 12–21), makes use of comparison in order to present before his reader the glory of Christ. He exalts Him (*a*) far above all saints of the old covenant (Heb. 12, 2); (*b*) above the high priest, who was weak, sinful, and mortal (Heb. 5, 1–3; 7, 23); (*c*) above the mediator of the old covenant, with whom he stands related as the son to the bond-servant of the house (Heb. 3, 1–6); (*d*) even above the angels, the mediators through whom Moses had received the law (Heb. 1 and 2). As such, He has a more distinguished name than they—that of Son and Lord, performs a higher work than the angels, and must also receive from them the homage of adoration (Heb. 1, 4. sqq). He is even—referring to a very significant declaration in the Psalms (Heb. 1, 8)—here styled *God*, and regarded as the mediate cause of creation; the ground of the continued existence of all things, the reflection of the glory of God (Heb. 1, 3). "God finds himself again, and reflects himself in the Son as in His other I" (THOLUCK). That from such a Christological stand-point the personal preexistence of the Son is understood, even though it be indicated but in a passing way (Heb. 9, 26), is self-evident.

11. With equal strength our author affirms the true humanity of the Lord, so that his Christology even bears a distinct anti-Docetic character, not less than, for example, that of Luke's Gospel. Among the testimonies for this glorious truth we

must not reckon Heb. 2, 16, since nothing more is there said than that He takes up the case, not of angels, but of Abraham's children. But of so much greater weight is the explicit statement that He became partaker of the flesh and blood of the children of men (Heb. 2, 14, παραπλησίως, prorsus), a declaration which was early used by the Church Fathers as a weapon against the Docetæ. Equally remarkable, from this point of view, is the mention of the days of the flesh, of the strong crying and tears of the Lord (Heb. 5, 7), and of His descent from Judah (Heb. 7, 14). Far from being regarded as of no importance, the fact of the Son's being truly man is here brought into immediate connection with the work of redemption itself. He can relieve man's misery only by personally sharing it (Heb. 2, 16–18); and consequently, only by virtue of a unity of nature, can raise his brethren to his own holiness and blessedness, and give to them the highest example and pattern (Heb. 2, 11; 12, 2).

12. As true man, nevertheless, the Lord was absolutely not raised above temptation to sin. In no single epistle of the New Testament is His liability to temptation more unequivocally expressed than here (Heb. 4, 15). The sufferings of Jesus were, on this account, of great importance, not only for mankind but also for Himself. Suffering was the great means by which He himself was made perfect, and completely fitted for His exalted position; yea, by which He became the ideal of humanity (Heb. 2, 5–9; comp. Ps. 8, 4. 5). Remarkable, again, from this point of view is the special value the writer attaches to that which took place in Gethsemane (Heb. 5, 7–9). Of course he does not imply that the Sufferer was raised from unholiness to holiness, but only that through temptation He was raised to the highest possible degree of perfection. Even the recognition of such a faith in God as that through which alone He could stand at the head of a bright succession of heroes in the faith (Heb. 12, 2), proves of itself how much he was in earnest as to the true and holy humanity of the Lord. Manifestly, he seeks to bring Him as closely into contact with humanity as this can take place without prejudice to the unconditional acknowledgment of his Godhead.

13. The dignity of the Lord's person stands, according to our Epistle, in immediate connection with His work. Precisely as

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